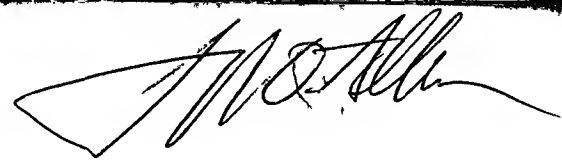


Resource Packet

The Politics and Background of David Duke

Fifth Edition
December, 1991

Prepared and Paid for by
Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism
A Political Action Committee
234 Loyola Avenue . Suite 915 . New Orleans, Louisiana . 70112
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Report prepared by
Lance Hill: Editor, Researcher, Writer
Tim Wise: Researcher and Writer

FACT SHEET LOUISIANA COALITION AGAINST RACISM AND NAZISM

234 Loyola Avenue, Suite 915
New Orleans, Louisiana 70112
(504) 523-2811

OFFICERS:

Chairman: Rev. James L. Stovall, Executive Director,
Louisiana Interchurch Conference, Baton
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Southern University at New Orleans.*
Treasurer: Jane Buchsbaum

* Organizational affiliation listed for identification purposes only.

PURPOSE:

To provide research and accurate information in order to combat the influence of those who advocate Nazism, racism, and religious and ethnic intolerance.

HISTORY:

The Coalition began evolving as an organization in the spring of 1989, following the election of David Duke to the Louisiana House of Representatives. The loose-knit group of researchers and concerned citizens began coordinated work to oppose the influence of Duke, his beliefs, and the movement he represents. In the fall of 1989 the group took steps to formally organize.

The Coalition's aggressive education campaign in the summer and fall of 1990 helped damage Duke's chances in his race for the U.S. Senate, and educated thousands of Louisianians to his ties with far-right and neo-Nazi organizations. Writing in the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, journalist Jason Berry observed that the Coalition has been responsible for "much of the damage inflicted on Duke" over the past year.

During the 1991 Gubernatorial race, the Coalition released new information damaging to the Duke campaign. Employing a three-step strategy of research, grass-roots outreach, and advertising, the Coalition played an important role in defeating Duke. The New York Times noted that many credit the Coalition "as a significant presence in shaping perceptions of Mr. Duke."

PAST ACTIVITIES:

- *** Mailed critical information regarding Duke to over 200,000 registered voters in August of 1990.
- *** Distributed thousands of "Resource Packets" around the state to media and community activists.
- *** Created a network of nine regional groups, seventeen student groups, and thousands of contacts state-wide.
- *** Investigated Duke's Nazi and racist book-selling operation. Sponsored a press conference in which Elizabeth Rickey revealed that Duke had been using his legislative office to promote and distribute Nazi and racist literature and tapes.
- *** Assisted Tulane student Abby Kaplan in her interview with David Duke, tape-recorded on November 29, 1989. Released copies of the interview revealing Duke's continued sympathies for Nazism to the media on December 7, 1989, resulting in significant negative impact on Duke - including national media coverage by the New York Times, and the Cable News Network.
- *** Coordinated research on Duke's extremist ties. Provided research information for local and national media, including ABC Prime Time, Newsweek, and Esquire.
- *** Arranged public speaking engagements by experts on Duke and the far-right.
- *** Funded research projects on Duke in New Orleans, Boston, Atlanta, New York, and Washington, D.C.
- *** Developed comprehensive print and television campaigns against Duke.
- *** Prepared a comprehensive report concerning Duke's financial background, funding sources, and financial indiscretions in recent years.
- *** Prepared reports attacking David Duke's legislative proposals, exposing them as racist in content, and flawed as public policy measures.
- *** Prepared a report challenging Duke's professed conversion to Christianity, showing that Duke is actually tied to a neo-Nazi religious movement, and that he uses the religion issue in order to foster the perception that he is a changed man.
- *** Distributed 50,000 brochures on Duke's Nazism and the economic impacts of a Duke Governorship prior to the Gubernatorial election.

- *** Released tapes and transcripts of a powerful 1986 interview with doctoral candidate Evelyn Rich, in which Duke counsels an avowed Nazi to moderate his image so as to "bring this government down," and claims that Jews "deserve to go into the ashbin of history." This interview became one of the most damaging stories of the Governor's race. The interview was eventually turned into a powerful radio advertisement which ran over 1600 times throughout the state.
- *** Ran full-page ads in newspapers across the state confronting the practice of racial scapegoating by Duke and other political demagogues, as well as an ad exposing Duke's continuing belief in neo-Nazi philosophy.
- *** Coordinated phone-banking operations in New Orleans, Lake Charles and Shreveport, reaching over 10,000 voters in the ten days prior to the election.

FUTURE PROJECTS:

- *** Develop inter-denominational programs against prejudice.
- *** Track and continue research on Duke's political campaigns.
- *** Track, research and expose Duke's links to other "copycat candidates" whom he has encouraged to run for various public offices in Louisiana and elsewhere.
- *** Formulate a curriculum project for Louisiana schools which would provide information on prejudice, extremism, and Holocaust revisionism to educators for use in the classroom.

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BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONOLOGY OF DAVID DUKE

- 1950 Born in Tulsa, Oklahoma. His family is comfortable, educated and middle class.¹
- 1950-1964 Duke spends his childhood in Oklahoma and the New Orleans area. He is an average student, though well-read. When Duke is 14, his father, an engineer, leaves the family to work for eleven years in Southeast Asia.²
- 1964-65 As a freshman at Clifton Ganus, Duke is assigned to write a school report opposing integration. He visits the local White Citizens Council headquarters where he meets James Lindsay, a Nazi sympathizer and wealthy New Orleans realtor. Lindsay, who operated in the extreme right under several aliases, recruits Duke into the White Citizens Council and becomes his father figure. Duke begins to espouse Nazi ideas to school friends and teachers.³
- 1968 Duke claims to have joined Lindsay's organization, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKKK). However, other sources indicate that the KKKK did not come into existence until 1971. There is little evidence of klan activity on Duke's part until 1974. Contrary to Duke's official biography, most of his political activities between 1968 and 1974 were under the auspices of a variety of Nazi and Nazi-affiliated organizations.⁴
- Fall, 1968 Duke enrolls at Louisiana State University (LSU) in Baton Rouge.⁵
- Fall, 1969 After a quiet freshman year, Duke becomes a highly visible proponent of Nazism (national socialism) at L.S.U.'s Free Speech Alley. The L.S.U. newspaper, Reveille, reports Duke advocating a philosophy of white supremacy and anti-Semitism. During a local radio program, Duke argues that Jews should be exterminated and Blacks sent back to Africa. Reveille also reports Duke distributing bundles of Nazi newspapers and quotes him as saying: "I am a National Socialist. You can call me a Nazi if you want."⁶
- July 23, 1970 Dressed in a Nazi uniform with a swastika arm band, Duke pickets a speech by attorney William Kuntsler at Tulane University. During the protest, Duke carries a sign which reads: "Gas the Chicago Seven," and "Kuntsler is a communist Jew." Years later, Duke describes the action as a youthful prank and denies that he was affiliated with Nazi organizations or subscribed to Nazi beliefs.⁷

- August 15, 1970 Duke speaks at a full-dress Nazi rally in Washington D.C. He is identified as a "party speaker" for the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP), the new name for the old American Nazi Party.⁸
- Fall, 1970 A chapter of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Liberation Front is formed on the L.S.U. campus. Duke later denies membership in the organization, but admits that he spoke on behalf of the neo-Nazi group.⁹
- February, 1971 Duke forms the White Youth Alliance on the L.S.U. campus. The mailing address for Duke's new group is the Nazi party headquarters in Arlington, Virginia. In 1975, the White Youth Alliance is identified as an affiliate of the National Socialist Liberation Front.¹⁰
- March, 1971 Duke is classified 1-A for the draft, the category most likely to be called up. On March 4, he is told to report for active duty. However, Duke is given a student deferment on March 18, a highly unusual move considering that Duke left school soon thereafter and didn't return for 18 months.¹¹
- Spring, 1971 The Army refuses to commission Duke as an officer in the R.O.T.C. because of his "Nazi affiliations."¹²
- Summer, 1971 Duke departs school for a six-month world-wide vacation. While visiting his father in Laos, Duke spends a few weeks teaching English to Laotian army officers. Duke later asserts that he served as a military adviser in Laos, though there is no evidence for this claim. Duke also claims to have flown rice behind enemy lines with the CIA's Air America. However, two Air America pilots who were in Laos at the time say that Duke's account is false.¹³
- 1972 Duke forms the National Party which, according to law-enforcement officials, antagonizes racial tension in local high schools. Duke is arrested on January 28 for making molotov cocktails. In June, he is arrested on charges of fraudulently soliciting funds for the George Wallace campaign. Charges are dropped for both arrests. In the fall of 1972, Duke withdraws from school, marries, and temporarily moves to Seattle, Washington to live with his sister.¹⁴
- 1973 Duke returns to Louisiana to work in Jim Lindsay's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Duke serves as Louisiana State Grand Dragon and National Information Director. He also returns to school, graduating in April, 1974.¹⁵
- 1973 Duke, using the pseudonym "Mohammed X," writes "African Atto," a 70-page manual which teaches blacks street fighting techniques to be used against "whitey." Duke later claims to have written the book in

order to provide the Klan with the names and addresses of "radical blacks" who would presumably buy the manual.¹⁶

- 1974-1980 Duke assumes control of the KKKK following the murder of James Lindsay in 1975. Duke becomes the Grand Wizard, and builds a following due to his composed intelligence, glibness, and media savvy. He receives extensive media coverage beginning with his January 7, 1974 interview on the nationally broadcast Tomorrow Show, with Tom Snyder. Two actions attract significant media attention: his intervention in the Boston busing crisis and his vigilante border patrol action on the Mexican border. By 1979 he has built the KKKK into a major klan organization.¹⁷
- 1974 A factional struggle breaks out in the KKKK. Some members suspect that Duke and Lindsay are part of a Nazi faction working within the Klan. Duke and Lindsay distribute Nazi literature to new Klan recruits and staff their organization with long-time members of the Nazi party.¹⁸
- Fall, 1975 Duke wins 33% of the vote in his campaign for Ken Osterberger's Sixteenth District Senate seat in Baton Rouge. Although Duke is open about his Klan affiliation, he campaigns as a moderate conservative, temporarily abandoning his extremist Klan rhetoric. Duke will repeat this strategy of moderate pretense during his electoral campaigns of 1979, 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991.¹⁹
- 1976 Duke dons the pseudonym, Dorothy Vanderbilt in order to write "Finders Keepers," a self-help sex manual which advises women on oral and anal sex techniques, as well as vaginal exercise methods.²⁰
- September, 1976 Duke organizes a meeting in Metairie of the World Nationalist Conference, a loose confederation of Nazi and Klan groups. The conference passes a resolution supporting the outlawed German Nazi government. It also demands the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Germany and the release of all Nazi war criminals. During the convention Duke leads a mob attack on a police officer. He is later arrested and convicted on charges of incitement to riot.²¹
- 1979 Bill Wilkinson, leader of a competing klan group, reveals that Duke attempted to sell the KKKK mailing list for \$35,000. Duke denies the charge, but the scandal damages his reputation within the klan.²²
- Fall, 1979 Duke runs for the 10th District Senate Seat in Metairie, Louisiana, polling 28% of the vote. Again, he campaigns as a moderate conservative.²³
- 1980 In July of 1980 Duke resigns from the Klan, explaining that he feels the klan's image is beyond reform. Other Klan figures credit his

resignation to the mailing list scandal. - Duke bequeaths the KKKK to Don Black and announces that he has formed a new organization, the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP).²⁴

- December, 1980 Duke helps a band of neo-Nazi mercenaries recruit participants for a planned invasion of the Caribbean island of Dominica. According to the plan, a small band of white supremacists would sail to Dominica, overthrow the democratically elected government, and set up a white junta. Duke helped the mercenaries find persons to finance the mission, and assisted in the procuring of a charter boat for the operation. Although the participants in the planned invasion were arrested and prosecuted, Duke escaped indictment.²⁵
- 1980-1990 Duke's departure from the Klan has little effect on his political philosophy. The NAAWP continues to advocate Duke's white-supremacist and anti-Semitic views, although moderated by a new peaceful and law-abiding stance (see "Extremist or Moderate?" in this packet). The official organ of Duke's new organization, the NAAWP News, continues to advocate extremist ideas and programs: division of North America into separate racial nations; genetic engineering to create a new "master race"; and defense of convicted neo-Nazi terrorists. During this period, Duke derives part of his income from a mail order business which specializes in Nazi, racist, and anti-Semitic literature and tapes. The general decline of the Klan movement is reflected in Duke's low profile throughout the period.²⁶
- 1980's Duke travels extensively to Las Vegas where he gambles as much as \$10,000 per game -- during a time when he claims to have been earning less than \$12,000 per year. Duke also invests heavily in the stock market throughout this period, according to his stock broker.²⁷
- Also during this period, Duke celebrates Hitler's birthday every April 20 in his Metairie home. Replete with cake, beer and chips, these birthday parties continue until at least the mid-1980's.²⁸
- 1981 Duke becomes a follower of the EST movement, the New Age movement led by Werner Erhard. The movement's controversial training techniques, bordering on personal intimidation, were borrowed by Duke in his short-lived, EST-influenced "white leadership seminars." During the seminars, Duke would berate participants, blaming them for the nation's decline due to their inability to "keep commitments to the white race."²⁹
- 1981-1985 Duke's public radicalism peaks during this period. On four different occasions, Duke advocates dividing North America into separate ethnic nations. Beginning in 1986, Duke tempers his rhetoric as he shifts

toward an electoral strategy. Despite the public shift, Duke never repudiates any of his principles or actions until after the legislative race of 1989.³⁰

1986

Duke attends a six-week Language Institute in Klessheim, Austria, where he studies German, and is overjoyed to briefly meet embattled Austrian President, Kurt Waldheim, a former member of the Nazi SS.³¹

While in Austria, Duke visits the Mauthausen concentration camp with girlfriend Gwen Udell. Udell notes that during the camp tour, Duke commented that the gas chambers had actually been nothing more than "de-lousing" centers to prevent disease.³²

Also in 1986, Duke attends a meeting of the Institute for Historical Review, a pseudo-academic organization which attempts to disprove the Holocaust. Duke and other partisans of the extreme right view the Holocaust as a Jewish hoax designed to gain sympathy for the State of Israel.³³

1987

Duke is arrested in Forsyth County, Georgia for attempting to block a black civil rights march. Duke sports a button which reads "Keep Forsyth White." He raises \$20,000 for his legal defense against the charge, which results in a \$50 fine. The balance of the funds are unaccounted for. In February, he returns to Forsyth, where he participates in a rally with known white supremacists, including Ed Fields (Klan/National States Rights Party); Don Black (Klan/Populist Party); and Richard Barrett, a self-proclaimed leader of the "white nationalist" movement.³⁴

Also in 1987, Duke attends a Florida meeting of Identity Christians, a neo-Nazi religious sect that teaches that blacks are "mud-people," and that Jews are direct descendants of Satan.³⁵

Spring, 1988

Duke campaigns for the Presidency of the United States on the Democratic Party ticket. He garners 22,000 votes in the primary which signals his renewed popularity. Duke's campaign themes include opposition to affirmative action, minority set-asides, and welfare expenditures. Despite Duke's protestations that he has abandoned his old Klan radicalism, Duke employs former Nazi Party commander, and current Identity minister Ralph Forbes as his campaign manager.³⁶

July, 1988

Duke speaks to the Presidential nominating convention of the Washington Populist Party, where he exclaims that Judaism "is a vile religion," and notes that "the most important issue facing America" is "Zionist control of the media."³⁷

Fall, 1988

Duke wins the Populist Party nomination for President in the

November general election. The Populist Party was created in 1982 by an amalgam of extremist organizations, including neo-Nazis and Klansmen. It serves as the electoral vehicle for the extreme right.³⁸

- January 20, 1989 Duke switches to the Republican Party and wins the primary election for the 81st District State Representative Seat in Metairie. Once again, Duke campaigns as a moderate conservative, emphasizing his opposition to affirmative action, welfare spending and increased taxes. The campaign draws international attention. During the primary, the media focuses on Duke's activities of the 1970's. Little attention is given to his espousal of extremist programs throughout the 1980's. Duke largely succeeds in convincing his followers that he has repudiated his radical ideas when he left the Klan in 1979. He denies ever subscribing to Nazi beliefs or belonging to Nazi organizations.³⁹
- February, 1989 Duke wins the State Representative seat with 51% of the vote. He enjoys a groundswell of popularity with blue-collar white voters, and becomes the most prominent opponent of Governor Buddy Roemer's tax reform campaign.⁴⁰
- March 4, 1989 Duke speaks to a Populist Party meeting in Chicago, Illinois. The meeting is attended by neo-Nazis, klansmen, and skinheads. Duke is photographed shaking hands with Art Jones, a Chicago Nazi. Duke denies he knows Jones, and later apologizes to the Louisiana House of Representatives for the incident.⁴¹
- June 7, 1989 Tulane researchers reveal that Duke is promoting and selling Nazi and racist literature and tapes from his legislative office in Metairie. Duke defends the practice, but announces that he will terminate the sale of pro-Nazi literature.⁴²
- July, 1989 Duke finishes his first legislative term. He unsuccessfully introduces ten bills dealing with issues of welfare, minority set-asides, and other race-related issues. However, Duke succeeds in shifting the house agenda to legislation which targets blacks. Capitol observers claim that Duke's popularity with other legislators declined following the revelation of his Nazi-book operation.⁴³
- November, 1989 Duke announces his intention to seek the U.S. Senate seat.⁴⁴
- December 8, 1989 The Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism releases an interview taped with Duke on November 29, 1989. The interview, which receives national media coverage, indicates that Duke still adheres to many extremist beliefs. In the interview, Duke observes that: the United States should not have entered W.W. II; he still supports a plan to divide America into separate ethnic nations; he agrees with some aspects of Nazism while disagreeing with other

aspects of it; and he still advocates government programs to breed a racial elite. Duke later defends his comments as "casual" remarks.⁴⁵

- January 13, 1990 James K. Warner, longtime anti-Semite, racist propagandist, and former member of the American Nazi Party, serves as a David Duke delegate to the Louisiana Republican Party Convention.⁴⁶
- January 1990 LCARN releases its first "Media Resource Packet," the first comprehensive accounting of Duke's neo-Nazi activities.
- March, 1990 Records of the Louisiana Department of Revenue and Taxation show that Duke failed to file state income tax returns from 1984-1987. Duke claims that he had not earned enough to require filing state returns. However, during that time, former girlfriends say that Duke was frequently jet-setting to Las Vegas, gambling as much as \$10,000 at once.⁴⁷
- A few days after the tax information is released, Duke pays three years worth of back taxes.⁴⁸
- May, 1990 In an interview Duke tells journalist Ros Davidson that Jews are a plague on the white race, and that Rudolph Hess, one of Hitler's closest advisers, should have received the Nobel Peace Prize.⁴⁹
- May 21, 1990 The House of Representatives rejects David Duke's bill to require first-time applicants for a driver's license to take a drug test.⁵⁰
- May 29, 1990 The House approves Duke's bill to severely curtail, if not eliminate affirmative action programs in Louisiana. The Black Caucus blasts Duke's racial agenda as a divisive force in the legislature.⁵¹
- June, 1990 The House defeats Duke's bill to cut welfare payments to those convicted of drug offenses. In another defeat for Duke's legislative agenda, a Senate Committee kills Duke's anti-affirmative action bill.⁵²
- July, 1990 Duke unveils his latest 30-minute campaign commercial in which he calls the black underclass "cancerous," and "parasitic."⁵³
- August 6, 1990 Figures show that Duke is among the top 18 campaign spenders in the nation among those running for the U.S. Senate.⁵⁴
- August, 1990 Duke appears on a New Orleans television program and admits that as late as 1989 he sold racist tapes like "Nigger Hatin' Me," and "Niggers Never Die. Duke defends the songs, referring to them as "funny."⁵⁵

Federal tax experts criticize Duke's flat tax and

National Sales Tax proposals, labelling them regressive and harmful to the working people Duke claims to represent.⁵⁶

- September 6, 1990 In response to a series of stories exposing Duke's lies about his military experience, a group of veterans denounce Duke for "inventing" a military record.⁵⁷
- September 26, 1990 Duke is forced to retract a statement he had made in the NAAWP News in 1987 which advocated the segregation of blood supplies due to the "likelihood" that "black blood" would be contaminated with the AIDS virus.⁵⁸
- October 4, 1990 Ben Bagert, the official GOP candidate for U.S. Senate, withdraws from the race due to his low support levels, claiming to be concerned that his presence in the race could force a Johnston-Duke runoff, thereby damaging Louisiana in the eyes of the nation.⁵⁹
- October 6, 1990 Duke loses the Senate election but receives a stunning 44% of the vote; 60% of the vote among whites who went to the polls.⁶⁰
- October 7, 1990 Political analysts predict that Duke's strong showing will result in a growing number of "copycat candidates" who will attempt to tap into growing white resentment across the nation.⁶¹
- January 4, 1991 Duke launches his fourth bid for public office since 1988 -- this time for Governor.⁶²
- February, 1991 Reports show that Duke failed to pay \$2,857 in property taxes on his Metairie home over a three year period. A few days after this information is released, Duke reports that he has paid the back taxes.⁶³
- April 26, 1991 Duke endorses Bill Patch for Parish President of St. Bernard. Patch is quoted in the Times-Picayune as saying that he is "not a racist," but that he is "very pro-white."⁶⁴
- April/May, 1991 Duke receives endorsements in his race for Governor from two right-wing extremist sources: the Political Action Committee of the Populist Party (a party composed primarily of Klansmen, neo-Nazis, and skinheads), and Robert Miles, a notorious anti-Semite from Choctaw, Michigan.⁶⁵
- May-June, 1991 Duke targets blacks with a new set of bills introduced in the state legislature. They include: a bill to eliminate affirmative action; a bill to provide for an additional sentence for drug offenses committed in public housing; a bill to strip welfare benefits from anyone convicted of a drug offense; and a bill that offers cash incentives to welfare

recipients to induce them to take long-term contraceptives (Norplant implants). The Louisiana Coalition issues a report on Duke's Norplant bill, characterizing it as a thinly veiled eugenics program designed to reduce the black population. All of Duke's controversial bills are defeated. Duke does manage to pass an obscure bill prohibiting payments to Grand Jurors.⁶⁶

- June, 1991 At the Louisiana Republican Party Convention in Lafayette, Duke and his supporters storm around the convention floor demanding that David be allowed to speak, even though convention rules prohibit speeches by candidates. Throngs of Duke backers chant "Duke, Duke, Duke," and rush the stage in what becomes a miniature riot. Duke is eventually allowed to speak in what many describe as an atmosphere similar to Nazi Germany in 1933.⁶⁷
- July 4, 1991 Nazi literature, and pamphlets denying the Holocaust are circulated at the annual "Duke Fest" fundraiser by Duke supporters.⁶⁸
- August 13, 1991 The Coalition releases a detailed report concerning Duke's financial background. The report notes that while Duke has repeatedly claimed to be "broke," he has lent his political campaigns over \$70,000, and he has taken money from loyal contributors and steered it to his own personal use through a shadow company which he owns.
- September, 1991 The Coalition releases an interview with Duke recorded in 1986, in which Duke claims Jews "deserve to go into the ashbin of history," and admits that he is "wheedling out" of his Nazism in order to attract new people to "the movement." During the interview, Duke advises Joe Fields, an avowed nazi, to opportunistically conceal his nazi loyalties.⁶⁹
- Issue #63 of the NAAWP NEWS, notes that David Duke is still the organization's top adviser, although the new President is Babs Wilson, a long-time Duke confidant, former Klan leader, and director of Duke's Baton Rouge campaign.⁷⁰
- October 19, 1991 Duke comes in second in the Gubernatorial primary, receiving 31% of the vote, edging out incumbent Buddy Roemer, and setting up a November runoff with former Governor, Edwin Edwards. During his election-night speech, Duke makes multiple references to Jesus Christ, as the "source of his strength," unveiling a new campaign strategy designed to attract the votes of fundamentalist Christians.⁷¹
- October, 1991 In a televised debate with Edwin Edwards, Duke is asked which church he belongs to. He responds: "The Evangelical Bible Church." Investigation later reveals that no such church exists, leading Duke to change his story. He then claims that the "church" is actually a "bible study group," which meets in member's homes. Duke's alleged

conversion and his evasiveness on the church issue becomes a major issue in the campaign.⁷²

November, 1991 The November issue of VOGUE magazine carries a story on Duke, in which he approvingly refers to George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder of the American Nazi Party, as "basically a conservative."⁷³

Bob Hawks, a Duke campaign coordinator for two months, defects from the Duke camp, disenchanted with the candidate. Hawks claims that Duke is lying about his religious beliefs, and that he is still a racist and a Nazi. The defection seriously damages Duke among many in the Christian community.⁷⁴

In conjunction with the controversy over Duke's Christianity, the Coalition releases a report challenging Duke's claims of conversion, and showing that he is linked to a neo-Nazi religious sect known as Christian Identity.

November 16, 1991 Edwards decisively defeats Duke 61% to 39% in the gubernatorial runoff. Duke suffers a devastating set-back in the white suburbs, losing much of the support he had garnered against Johnston in the Senate race. Duke's support is now concentrated in the rural areas. Nonetheless, he receives 55% of the white vote.⁷⁵

December 4, 1991 Duke announces that he will run for President of the United States, as a Republican. He will challenge President Bush aggressively in approximately 20 states. Although he does not expect to win the nomination, he claims that his candidacy will force the Republican Party "back to the right," and keep the focus on issues such as crime, affirmative action, and welfare reform.⁷⁶

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41. New Orleans Times-Picayune, March 7, 1989.
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43. New Orleans Times-Picayune, June 18, 1989; July 16, 1989.
44. New Orleans Times-Picayune, December 5, 1989.
45. Shreveport Journal, December 8, 1989; New Orleans Times-Picayune, 12/8/89.
46. New Orleans Times-Picayune, January 10, 1990.
47. New Orleans Times-Picayune, 8/26/90.
48. New Orleans Times-Picayune, March 22/23, 1990.
49. New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 13, 1991.
50. New Orleans Times-Picayune, May 22, 1990.
51. New Orleans Times-Picayune, May 30, 1990.
52. New Orleans Times-Picayune, June 19/June 26, 1990.
53. New Orleans Times-Picayune, July 13, 1990.
54. New Orleans Times-Picayune, August 7, 1990.
55. New Orleans Times-Picayune, August 9, 1990.
56. New Orleans Times-Picayune, August 14th, 1990.
57. New Orleans Times-Picayune, September 6, 1990.
58. New Orleans Times-Picayune, September 27, 1990.
59. New Orleans Times-Picayune, October 5, 1990.
60. New Orleans Times-Picayune, October 7, 1990.
61. New Orleans Times-Picayune, October 8, 1990.
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63. New Orleans Times-Picayune, February 2, 1991.
64. New Orleans Times-Picayune, April 27, 1991.
65. Populist Observer, May, 1991; From the Mountain, April, 1991.
66. New Orleans Times-Picayune, July 15, 1991.

67. Kelso, Iris. "Convention for the history books," New Orleans Times-Picayune, June 19, 1991.

68. Palmer, Brian. "Food, Folks and Fear," Village Voice, July 23, 1991.

69. Evelyn Rich interview tape, 2/20/86.

70. NAAWP NEWS, Issue #63, Fall, 1991; New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 12, 1991.

71. New Orleans Times-Picayune, October 20, 1991.

72. New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 13, 1991.

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74. New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 13, 1991.

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76. Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, December 5, 1991.

WHO'S WHO IN THE DUKE ORGANIZATION

A Guide to Extremist Ties

- Alan Balogh: Paid staffer for Duke in 1988 during Duke's Presidential bid. Based in Pennsylvania, Balogh has been a member of the neo-nazi National Alliance, founded by William Pierce, a former leader in the American Nazi Party. The November 1989 issue of National Vanguard, the Alliance's journal, was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Adolph Hitler's birthday.¹
- Don Black: Black, who refers to himself as a "professional bigot," has been one of Duke's closest friends for twenty years, and has served as an informal advisor in Duke's political campaigns. Black started his racist career as a member of the National Socialist Youth Movement, an affiliate of the National Socialist White People's Party (Nazi Party). He later became a member of Duke's Klan, and took control of the KKKK when Duke left in 1980. In 1981 Black was arrested and later imprisoned on charges arising from his part in an abortive mercenary invasion on the Caribbean nation of Dominica. The mercenary force, partly recruited by Duke, equipped themselves with an arsenal of weapons and a Nazi flag. Comprised of neo-Nazis and Klansmen, this rag-tag "army" planned to establish a cocaine processing operation in Dominica, according to Federal prosecutors. Upon his release from prison, Black resumed his racist activities, first in the Klan, and then as the head of the extremist Florida Populist Party. Black is married to Duke's ex-wife and the stepfather of Duke's two children.²
- Howie Farrell: Farrell has served as Duke's campaign manager in every election over the past three years. Farrell was dismissed from the New Orleans police force for bullying a citizen and then writing a false report concerning the incident. He is a member of the National Association for the Advancement of White People -- the white supremacist and anti-Semitic group founded by Duke. His son, Howie Jr. -- who has volunteered on Duke's campaigns -- founded the White Student Union at the University of New Orleans with the assistance of skinhead Michael Palasch.³
- Ralph Forbes: Campaign manager for Duke during his 1988 Presidential race, Forbes served as the Western Commander of the American Nazi Party in the 1960's. In 1980, Forbes told the Jackson Clarion Ledger that "the Nazi Party is doing God's work." Forbes is currently a minister at the Sword of Christ Good News Ministries in London, Arkansas, where he publishes anti-Semitic and white supremacist literature that rails against the "multi-headed Jew beast." Forbes received \$22,000 from Duke's 1988 campaign.⁴

- Robert Hoy: National Director of "Republican Action for the '90's," a right-wing political group in Washington which campaigned on Duke's behalf during his run for the U.S. Senate, and the recent Gubernatorial election. Hoy, who has coordinated much of Duke's national press coverage since 1988, is a contributor to The Spotlight, the publication of the Liberty Lobby, and the head of the American-Afrikaner Union, a pro-apartheid "white nationalist" group. Hoy claims to be a fighter "for the white race," and has suggested that whites should not patronize non-white businesses, lest they contribute to "the decline of white America." He has also called for the building of segregated "white homelands" to ensure white survival worldwide.⁵
- Trish Katson: Staff member of the Liberty Lobby, the group founded by Willis Carto who has been described as "the most important anti-Semite propagandist in the United States." Katson was employed by Duke during his 1989 legislative race and later became chief of Duke's legislative office staff.⁶
- Kenny Knight: Supervisor of Duke's campaign volunteers during the Gubernatorial race, and a top Duke aide in each campaign since 1989. Knight was dismissed from the police department in 1973 for stealing lumber from a construction site.⁷
- Steven Krantz: Krantz, the legal advisor for the racist NAAWP (and also a member), was a Duke advisor and campaign worker during the recent Gubernatorial election.
- Jim McPherson: McPherson has been Duke's top campaign adviser in each of his last three campaigns, and has been a personal friend for eleven years, having served as Duke's attorney during the Dominica-invasion case. McPherson introduced Duke to "new age" philosophy in 1981, and served as head of the NAAWP from Fall, 1990 to Summer, 1991. McPherson is President of Stirling Publishers, a paper corporation that Duke used in the Governor's race to cover up payments to a direct-mail firm in Missouri. McPherson received \$7,000 in legal fees from Duke's campaign through Stirling.⁸
- James Meredith: Meredith was the first black to integrate the University of Mississippi in 1962, and subsequently became a celebrated civil rights figure. In recent years, though, Meredith drifted into the far-right, working for North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms and later endorsing Duke in his gubernatorial bid. As recently as the mid-1980's, Meredith wrote a letter to President Reagan calling for a national program to send blacks back to Africa.⁹
- Glenn Montecino: Duke's legislative aide for the past year (1990-1991). In September,

Montecino openly praised "Instauration," a white supremacist publication from Cape Canaveral, Florida, calling it a "very good magazine... very intellectual." "Instauration" is edited by former National Alliance member Vic Olvir and has published articles advocating nazi-styled eugeneics programs and plans to divide America into separate racial nations.¹⁰

John Nugent: Nugent, who helped raise money for Duke in his 1989 House race, is a long-time neo-Nazi activist. He began his racist career as a member of the neo-Nazi National Socialist White People's Party, and then moved to the National Alliance. Starting in 1986, Nugent became a fundraiser for the Liberty Lobby, and a regular contributor to The Spotlight. He has denied that the Holocaust took place, and claims that the presence of non-whites in America is destroying the country. Nugent studied David Duke's electoral strategy during the 1989 House race and proceeded to run unsuccessfully for the U.S. Congress from the 6th Congressional District in Tennessee.¹¹

John Rarick: A former U.S. Congressman and staunch segregationist, Rarick has been an ever present figure at Duke rallies for the past three years. Rarick contributes regularly to the NAAWP NEWS, and is on the Board of the Populist Party PAC -- the Political Action Committee of the Party started by Willis Carto.¹²

David Touchstone: Duke's campaign director in North Louisiana, Touchstone is a Shreveport lawyer and former member of Duke's Klan during the 1970's.¹³

James K. Warner: Warner and Duke's relationship dates back to the early 1970's when Warner served as the Information Officer for the neo-Nazi National Socialist White People's Party -- formerly known as the American Nazi Party. Duke spoke at NSWPP rallies, and worked closely with Warner. Warner joined up with Duke's Klan in the 1970's, and assisted Duke during the 1989 Legislative campaign. He is currently a "minister" in the anti-Semitic New Christian Crusade Church, based in Chalmette, Louisiana, and the head of the Christian Defense League, a neo-Nazi group which operates in Southern Louisiana. In January, 1990, Warner served as a David Duke delegate at the Louisiana Republican Senatorial nominating convention. Warner's activities in the American Nazi Party in the 1960's earned him a place on the Secret Service's list of persons considered a threat to the President.¹⁴

Babs Wilson: A long-time activist in right-wing circles (also known as Babs Minhanette), Wilson ran Duke's Baton Rouge office during the Governor's race. She has been one of Duke's closest friends and

advisers since the late 1960's, when Duke was openly embracing Nazism on the campus of Louisiana State University. At that time, Wilson was fighting fluoridation of the Baton Rouge water supply, claiming that the process was part of a worldwide communist conspiracy. A Klan activist in the 1970's, Wilson became National Coordinator and chief spokesperson for the KKKK in the 1980's. In 1990 Wilson was named the President of the NAAWP.¹⁵

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT:

Liberty Lobby:

Based in Washington D.C., the Liberty Lobby provided a variety of organizational resources and staff assistance to Duke since 1988. A multi-million dollar organization, the Liberty Lobby has been called the "most anti-Semitic organization" in America by the Anti-Defamation League. The Liberty Lobby was founded by Willis Carto and has spawned the Institute for Historical Review (which denies the Holocaust), and the Populist Party, which is heavily influenced by former nazis and klansmen. Carto's organization provided Duke with a campaign treasurer in 1988, as well as direct-mail consultants and the organization's 100,000 name mailing list.¹⁶

1. David Duke for President, Federal Election Commission Report, March 1 - March 31, 1988; Anti-Defamation League, Extremism on the Right, 1988; National Vanguard, November, 1989.
2. Evelyn Rich interview with Black, circa, 1985; Tyler Bridges, "Duke team has little training," New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 12, 1991; ADL, Extremism on the Right, 1988; Bridges, "The men who would be Governor: A close look at David Duke," New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 3, 1991.
3. Bridges, 11/12/91, cited above; Baton Rouge State-Times, May 16, 1990; Newsweek, April 23, 1990.
4. "Duke maintains extremist ties," New Orleans Times-Picayune, February 17, 1989; ADL, Extremism on the Right, cited above.
5. David Duke for President, Federal Election Commission Report, March 1 -- March 31, 1988; Duke campaign literature inserts, 1991; ADL, cited above; American-Afrikaner Union Newsletter, various editions, 1989-1990; Private letters, National Alliance collection, Tulane University -- political ephemera archives; various issues of Attack!, and National Vanguard, the official publications of the National Alliance.
6. ADL, cited above; David Duke's private phone logs, January-June, 1989; Center for Democratic Renewal, "Ballot Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party," 1989.
7. Bridges, 11/12/91, cited above.
8. Tyler Bridges, "Duke revises report about payment," New Orleans Times-Picayune, December 10, 1991; Bridges, 11/12/91, cited above; Searchlight, December, 1991.
9. Bridges, 11/12/91, cited above; NAAWP NEWS, Issue 24, 1983.
10. Bridges, 11/12/91, cited above; "Magazine says Duke trying to widen appeal," Shreveport Times, September 15, 1991; NAAWP NEWS, Issue 29/30, December, 1984/January, 1985; Instauration, August, 1990; July, 1991; Olvir is listed in various editions of Attack! and the National Vanguard in the 1970's/'80's as a member of the National Alliance.
11. Robert Sherborne, "Past could haunt 'pro-white' candidate," The Tennessean, July 29, 1990; Bill McMahon, "Disciple uses Duke's strategy in Tenn." Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, July 18, 1990; Spotlight, September 5, 1988; Institute for Historical Review Newsletter, April, 1989; National Vanguard, October-November, 1986.

12. Bridges, 11/12/91, cited above; NAAWP NEWS, Issue 60, Fall, 1990; Populist Observer, April/May, 1991; CDR, "Ballot-Box Bigotry..." cited above.

13. Bridges, 11/12/91, cited above.

14. ADL, "Extremism on the Right," cited above; The Spotlight, December, 1991; New Orleans Times Picayune, January 10, 1990.

15. Bridges, 11/12/91, cited above; Zatarain, Michael. David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman. Pelican Publishers: Gretna, Louisiana, 1990; "The Klan's New Look," (KKKK flyer announcing the election of Babs Wilson to the position of National Coordinator), 1982.

16. ADL, cited above; CDR, cited above; David Duke for President, Federal Election Commission Reports, March/June, 1988.

MAINSTREAMING HATE: DAVID DUKE AND THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE

David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, made headlines February 20, 1989 with a surprise victory in the race for Louisiana's 81st District House seat. Key to Duke's victory was his success in dissociating himself from his former klan and neo-Nazi image. Duke denied ties to the neo-Nazi and klan movements and campaigned using contemporary conservative attacks on welfare spending, minority set-asides, and affirmative action.

Since his election Duke has remained embroiled in controversy. In March of 1989, he addressed a Populist Party convention comprised of Klan and neo-Nazi participants. Duke was photographed at the convention clasping the hand of Art Jones, a Chicago Nazi Party leader. The following June, Tulane University researchers discovered that Duke was promoting and selling Nazi, racist and anti-Semitic literature and tapes from the basement of his legislative office in Metairie. In November of 1989, Duke granted an interview in which he expressed agreement with aspects of Nazism and advocated a program to divide America into separate racial nations. Charges surfaced throughout the year that Duke continued to employ klan and neo-Nazi extremists in the highest levels of his organization. Such charges dogged Duke well into his race for the United States Senate.

Over the last three years Duke continued to characterize his extremism as a youthful indiscretion. Indeed, beginning in 1989 Duke succeeded in inventing a new past for himself. He portrayed himself as a reformed bigot, persecuted by liberals for his new conservative ideas. Yet throughout this period, Duke -- the "former" Klan leader, and "ex" Nazi sympathizer -- was the head of a blatantly racist, white supremacist organization: the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). Founded in 1980, Duke portrayed the NAAWP as a "civil rights organization" -- a description readily accepted by much of the media. NAAWP members had a more accurate assessment of the organization: J. Alan Moran, a member of the NAAWP, described the NAAWP as "the Klan without robe or ritual."

Even Duke has acknowledged that he created the NAAWP as a device to mainstream Klan politics. In 1985 he explained in two separate interviews that the transition from Klan to NAAWP was one of form, not substance. He told Gallery magazine: "The NAAWP can be more effective than the Klan because we don't have any secrecy and there's no taint of violence."² He further explained the subtle difference between the Klan and the NAAWP to researcher Evelyn Rich: "There's a lot of difference between being a Klan leader and a NAAWP leader, and it's a difference in prompting somebody to join."³

Duke served as President of the NAAWP from 1980 until September, 1990 -- just one month before his defeat to J. Bennett Johnston in the Louisiana Senate race. Yet Duke's leadership of the NAAWP never became an issue.⁴ Whatever the reasons for this oversight, it provides evidence that Duke continued to control the public's perception of him. Many voters apparently accepted Duke's rhetoric that the NAAWP was merely "an organization dedicated to equal rights for all."

Duke's politics in the 1980's are exemplified in the NAAWP and its official publication, the NAAWP NEWS. It is this publication that best reveals Duke's radically racist worldview. Indeed, during an appearance on ABC Prime Time Live, shortly after his victory in District 81, Duke noted that the NAAWP NEWS, accurately reflected his current political views.

The NAAWP NEWS provides ample evidence that Duke's moderate public posture belies his extremist philosophy and organizational loyalties. In recent years, Duke has published articles calling for the creation of an all-white nation and the partitioning of the North American continent into several race-based nations. He has repeatedly called for genetic engineering of a "superman" race distilled from the white race. Articles have appeared in his NAAWP NEWS praising other white-supremacists and demanding the release of violent neo-Nazi criminals.

Over a ten-year period, the NAAWP NEWS has advocated total racial separation in excess of twenty times, and has printed explicitly anti-Semitic columns on thirty different occasions.⁵ For example, one 1988 article carried the title: "Jews attack the white race as cancer might attack the human body."⁶ Also that year, a review of the movie 'Betrayed' - a film dealing with a neo-Nazi terrorist underground gang -- indicated the vile nature of the NAAWP's anti-Semitism. In describing the on-screen murder of a Jewish disc-jockey, the unnamed movie critic noted: "The Mac-10 made mincemeat out of the kike's coarse carcass."⁷

Duke frequently published statements expressing his dream of purging America of Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and Jews. In 1984 the NAAWP NEWS offered this solution to the country's difficulties:

"The ultimate answer to this racial quagmire is racial separation. The Jews, blacks, Hispanics and Orientals would each be given a portion of the present-day United States so they could have a nation of their own. The rest of America would be reserved for the white majority."⁸

This scheme acquired more detail in a NAAWP NEWS article penned by Duke's occasional editor, Tom Wilson. Wilson wrote a futuristic piece about a dreamy utopia in which "the blacks have a nation made up of the old state of Florida and parts of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi." Wilson went on to assign New York City to the Jews, the Southwest to Hispanics, and Hawaii to the Asians. By the year 2025 he envisioned a eugenics program which would create a race of "supermen," blond-haired, blue-eyed, with average I.Q.'s of 144.⁹ Duke's dreams of racial purity and supremacy even extend to the galaxies. Issue 34 of the NAAWP NEWS suggests that "We'll colonize other planets and no doubt establish all-white outposts."¹⁰

Even today, the principles of the NAAWP, stated in each newsletter include the claim that "there are no all-white nations except Iceland, and Iceland is not enough!"¹¹

Whites who believe that Duke's programs only adversely affect minorities may be surprised by some of the proposals in the NAAWP NEWS. Duke's racial programs are also intended

to purge the white race of "impure elements" by identifying and genetically refining a select group of specimens within the white race. In 1984 Duke reprinted an article from Instauration which speculated that, had the white supremacists prevailed, by the year 2000, "under the watchful eyes of expert geneticists, a special group of isolated Majority members... would be busy breeding the first generation of potential supermen."¹² This genetic elite would enjoy a variety of privileges denied other whites. At one point Duke proposed that whites with high I.Q.'s might be granted government loans, paid off by simply having more genetically superior children.¹³ Ironically, while Duke decries laws that recognize racial distinctions, his own political philosophy seeks to maximize distinctions, even within a race. Given that Duke's schemes resonate with Nazi master-race theories, it is no surprise that he has chosen to exclude them from his new public agenda.

Duke has adamantly denied that he ever supported any form of totalitarianism. However, throughout the 1980's Duke heaped accolades on notorious despots. In March of 1985, the NAAWP NEWS reprinted a tribute to Turkish dictator Kemal Ataturk. Ataturk was praised for expelling foreigners from Turkey and hanging a Jewish financial expert. The article ends with an ominous warning that every nation is eventually ruled by one or more dictators. "When it is America's time to go totalitarian," the NAAWP NEWS told its readers, "we should pray that we get a Kemal who was ... aware... that national resurrection depends first and foremost on the distillation process of racial separation."¹⁴ The article suggested that a totalitarian government is necessary to implement the racial order Duke envisions.

One thing that is evident in Duke's recent publications is his enduring fascination with Nazism. This was particularly obvious on his mail order page, found in the back of each newsletter. Until the operation was exposed in June, 1989, Duke featured and sold books on the Third Reich, as well as offerings from deceased Nazi Party Leader, George Lincoln Rockwell. Rockwell's speeches were lauded by Duke as "stimulating and provocative," challenging "many common assumptions and preconceptions."¹⁵ Duke published a disclaimer that the selections did not necessarily represent NAAWP's position, yet the descriptions of the books often betrayed the publisher's sympathies. Franklin Roosevelt was referred to as a "traitor" for involving the United States in the war against Nazi aggression. Nazi propaganda films were praised as "inspiring," and Klansman Don Black's performance on the Donahue show was touted as an "excellent presentation."¹⁶ Duke also sold The Six Million Reconsidered, written by Bill Grimstead (a Duke campaign contributor). This work claims that the Holocaust never happened, and contains lurid pictures of Jewish women being bullwhipped by Nazi death-camp guards. Duke described The Six Million Reconsidered as "beautifully illustrated."¹⁷

Duke's Nazi preoccupation is not relegated to dead Nazi leaders. In 1982 Duke opened up the pages of the NAAWP NEWS to a campaign to free two brothers convicted of conspiring to use explosives. The article referred to the two men, John and Ed Gerhardt as "white political prisoners" and identified them as founders of the American White Nationalist Party.¹⁸ What Duke's publication failed to mention was that the Gerhardt brothers were neo-Nazis, intent on blowing up a school attended by the daughter of a desegregationist judge. Duke may have formally abandoned his organizational ties to the neo-Nazi right, but he continues to defend its most extreme and violent advocates.

Moreover, as late as 1985, the NAAWP NEWS was running recruitment articles for the Klan.¹⁹

In 1988, Duke's group praised neo-Nazi skinheads in an article which actually counseled the Nazi Youth movement. "Skinheads!" it read, "Beware! The media in America is your mortal enemy. It is a killer tool for use by Jews on the white man!"²⁰ It should be noted that the article specifically praised the Confederate Hammer Skins, members of which were recently convicted of planning to pump cyanide gas into a Dallas synagogue.

Even today, the NAAWP continues to publish racist and anti-Semitic propaganda. In the past year, the NAAWP NEWS has contained articles which blame Jews for "attacking our children's values," "promoting a drug culture," and encouraging "moral and ethical decadence."²¹ Other articles have criticized interracial marriage on the grounds that the practice reduces the genetic quality of the white race.²² One recent issue actually criticized ads by K-Mart and Bennetton because they pictured white and black children together as friends. The NAAWP claimed that such images promote inter-racial sex.²³

In truth then, there are two David Dukes. One Duke presents himself in public as a moderate conservative; a strategy designed to attract a popular following. The other Duke is an extremist ideologue who uses the pool of new followers as a recruiting ground for a white-supremacist and anti-Semitic movement. Duke employs this bait-and-switch strategy because he understands the disadvantages of organizing openly as a racist. In 1985, the NAAWP NEWS observed that, since the public still regarded white supremacy as immoral, racist activists should conceal their opinions and "never refer to racial superiority or inferiority, only talk about racial differences, carefully avoiding value judgments."²⁴ Duke's publication went on to urge its readers not to rely on overt racist appeals and violence, but rather to temper their rhetoric and enter the electoral arena to create an all-white nation. "Of all our means of action, this alternative is our best hope and offers the most dividends," observed the NAAWP NEWS. Furthermore, electoral campaigns could exploit the media for publicity. "Through a political campaign we can get thousands of dollars worth of free publicity," noted Duke's newspaper.²⁵ In 1989, one NAAWP NEWS article recommended that "all such (white rights) agitation should be accomplished in an unassuming, low-key style that reeks of irreproachable erudition... Your language should never contain the least hint of racial inferiority or superiority."²⁶ In issue 63, published only a month before Duke's Gubernatorial loss, Steven Krantz, a Duke campaign adviser counseled "white activists" to avoid using the word "nigger," because it would turn people off to the white rights message.²⁷

Duke continues to execute a dual strategy. In public, he promotes moderate conservatism, keyed to racial issues. Within his activist circle, he continues a second campaign, a shadow campaign. It embodies Duke's long-term design, his dream of a genetically engineered super-race, born into existence by a legion of white supremacists. This is the vision he conceals from the cameras; one which he shares only with the chosen few. One which the world thought perished in the carnage of World War Two. Elective office is but one step on the road to Duke's ultimate solution.

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3. Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985, Metairie, Louisiana.
4. Marcus, Frances Frank, "White Supremacist Group Fills a Corner in Duke campaign," New York Times, November 14, 1991.
5. "Best of the NAAWP News," Louisiana Coalition compilation, 1990.
6. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 49, 1988, p.10.
7. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 54, 1988, p.7.
8. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 31, 1984, p.3.
9. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 32, 1984, p.3.
10. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 34, 1984, p.13.
11. NAAWP NEWS, statement of principles -- Why is the NAAWP Necessary?, Issue 63, Fall, 1991.
12. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 31, 1984, p. 9.
13. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 31, 1984, p.3.
14. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 32, 1985, p.6.
15. NAAWP NEWS, various issues, 1981-1989.
16. NAAWP NEWS, Americana Books/Tapes order forms, various issues, 1981-1989.
17. NAAWP NEWS, Americana Books/Tapes Order Forms, various issues 1981-1989.
18. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 19, 1982, p.11.
19. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 34, 1985, p.12.
20. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 52, 1988, p. 5.
21. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 60, 1990 (James Knox, reprinted from American Focus.)

22. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 63, Fall, 1991.-- --
23. Ibid.
24. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 33, 1985, p. 1.
25. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 34, 1985, p.10.
26. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 57, 1989, p.3/
27. NAAWP NEWS, Issue 63, 1991.

SELECT QUOTES BY DAVID DUKE DURING THE 1980'S/1990's

RACIAL SEPARATION

"The least we could and can do is... separate the races once and for all. The most we could do is use the genetic knowledge we have now to speed our evolution toward a smarter, stronger, healthier people that can touch the heavens."

(Duke editorial, NAAWP News, Issue 24, 1983)

"Although repatriation of blacks (to Africa) would constitute an enormous task politically, socially, and economically, there is no question that the increasing minoritization of America will destroy our freedoms, economic security, and eventually even our existence as a people and culture. It is easy to say that repatriation will never occur, but frankly, what realistic alternatives are there... Is it a radical solution? Yes. But who can deny that cancer-ridden America can be saved by anything short of radical surgery."

(Duke letter -insert- NAAWP News, Issue 26, 1983)

"We don't have a program to send them back to Africa. I think that's impractical. We do feel an ideal, perhaps an impossible ideal, would be geographic separation of the races, either within this country or on an extra-continental basis."

(Duke quote, published in the Baton Rouge State-Times, 1985)

INTERVIEWER: So, what's the ultimate goal then? What do you want to do with these people (blacks)?

DUKE: Well, like an apartheid, except more of a complete -- whereas Apartheid sets up black states within a country, I favor complete separation on a voluntary basis, eventually. I realize it's a very difficult question and not an easy one to obtain, but we feel like there's no (other choice). So we're for separation. In the meantime we're for strict equal rights for all.

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, Metairie, Louisiana, March, 1985)

"What we really want to do is to be left alone. We don't want Negroes around. We don't need Negroes around. We're not asking -- you know, we don't want to have them, you know, for our culture. We simply want our own country and our own society. That's in no way exploitative at all. We want our own society, our own nation..."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"We simply demand the basic human right of our people to survive and live in a society shaped in the image of our forbears; a society totally dedicated to our values, traditions, culture and interests."

(Duke editorial, "The Black Crime Plague," NAAWP NEWS, #39, 1986, p.1)

"If general mixing is allowed there is always degeneration in the population."

(Duke editorial, NAAWP NEWS, Issue 42, 1987, p.11)

"...people should have the basic human right, the civil right if you will, to do whatever is

necessary to keep themselves and their family safe and secure as possible... our people should have the right to keep their neighborhoods white!"

(Duke editorial, "The lesson of Howard Beach," NAAWP NEWS, #43, 1987)

ANTI-SEMITISM

"A small, alien minority (Jews), has control over the airwaves, and it is costing us our freedoms, our cultural integrity, our money and even our lives."

(Duke pamphlet, "Who runs the media?" circa, 1983)

"The Jews are certainly the most chauvinistic people on Earth."

(Duke, "Who Runs the Media," 1983)

"If the Jews are so great, why do they have to be among us in the first place?"

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"If you want to talk about any sort of pornography, or you want to talk about organized crime, or you want to talk about the advocates of drug usage, or the obscene poets... They (the Jews), have been consistently behind the kinds of things that are against the traditions of the West, the values of the West."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"These Jews who run things, who are producing this mental illness -- teenage suicide ... all these Jewish sicknesses... that's nothing new. The Talmud's full of things like sex with boys and girls."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"...our people in Europe were open people. They were very honest people... The whole chivalric Medieval type of morality, for instance, is a good example of white morality compared to a Jewish type of morality. An openness, an honesty, not necessarily -- you're not necessarily nice, you know. But if a white person stole something, he'd steal it. He wouldn't sneak up behind you ... and play a trick on you... If he wants your wallet he's going to take it you know. But a lot of them (Jews), wouldn't even do that... You just don't cheat somebody. It's not the Christian thing to do... Jews operate by different rules than we operate by."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"Our government is riddled with Jews... I mean they're all over the place. Almost every economic advisor, by the way, is a Jew... When these Jews get in positions of power and they know what the government's going to do, how it's going to effect monetary policy, or when the government's going to build a base somewhere... they get this information ahead of time. They get this information before the public knows it. All they do is speak in Yiddish... (they) just talk to some of their friends and they know. Like they know the government's going to grant a contract to General Dynamics. They pass it on to their Jewish brothers. Their Jewish brothers go in there and buy up a couple of million shares. The stock goes up... These kinds of deals are repeated a thousand times ... It's the big, big, big guys who make the serious bucks and it's Jewish as a three-dollar bill. I mean it's Jewish from top to bottom. I mean the real top players -- Jews, Jews, and more Jews."

"They rape the country economically..."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"Well, the Jews have developed a disease and given it to us already. It's called race-mixing, and they're being quite successful."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, February, 1986)

"The media is dominated by Jews. You know it, and everybody knows it. They own the store... These Jews are not good Americans."

(Duke interview with Gallery, reprinted in NAAWP News, Issue 37, 1986)

--- Duke refers to Jews in the media as "culture distorters and destroyers," who are "evil" and propagate the "works of the devil."

(Duke editorial, "Love and Hate," NAAWP News, Issue 41, 1987)

"Frankly, I don't have any respect for Judaism. Because it's a very vile, anti-Christian faith, and if you're familiar with it, then you'd realize why I feel that way... the Talmud.. is a very vicious and vile book and it attacks all Christians and non-Jews in the world..."

(Duke speech, July 23, 1988 -- Washington Populist Party Convention)

"The internationalists (Jews), want to destroy borders. They want to destroy tariffs. They want to destroy the American middle class and they want to destroy our heritage. And they know that they cannot control fully our lives unless they destroy the vitality, the seed, the spirit, the genetic treasure of this society, of our nation. And ladies and gentlemen that's you and I ... our children, our progeny, and that's ultimately what they want to destroy."

(Duke speech, 7/23/88 -- Washington Populist Party Convention)

"The Zionist control of the American media... must be broken."

(Duke speech, 7/23/88 -- Washington Populist Party Convention)

"There's no more critical issue than the fact the Zionists control the American media in America."

(Duke speech, 7/23/88 -- Washington Populist Party Convention)

HIS REAL MOTIVES AND GOALS

"Once I learned about the race issue, I felt any other pursuit in my life would be almost meaningless if the white race didn't win the struggle we're now engaged in... a struggle upward on the evolutionary scale. And unless the quality of our people survived, any other sort of career would be almost meaningless. And once I made that choice I realized that I was going to do something within the movement in this country and around the world to fight for the continued existence and progress of the white majority."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

DUKE: Politics has no morality at all when you really get down to it.

INTERVIEWER: So what do you want to get into it for then?

DUKE: Well, it's the only game in town. I'm willing to get into it, but at the same time, I'm not willing to sacrifice everything I believe in... In other words, I'm willing to play the political game... but only to a limited extent, to where I'm not going to compromise my basic beliefs."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"(Yeah, I want to get political power). Yeah, absolutely... You know my philosophy comes first and politics is essentially a tool for the philosophy, not vice versa... Politics is a vessel. The content is what I believe in, and the content hasn't changed."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"People always say it's the same old Klan package. Well, it's true from the standpoint of myself. My ideology has not fundamentally changed... When I was in the Klan -- how is it fundamentally different from what I've been talking about (today)?"

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"My basic ideology, as far as what I believe about race, about the Jewish question, is the same. My difference is in my tactics and organization (the NAAWP). We don't have any cross lightings, you know, the ceremonies. We don't have any robes. But... you know, I'm the same. No question about it... my basic ideology has remained the same..."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"Our campaign (for President), reached millions of Americans with the truth... the campaign advanced our cause, it brought thousands of new people, mostly young people into the movement... winning this race would be a springboard to turning back the tide toward the white majority in this country... it would break the dike and set loose a flood of white activism..."

(Duke letter, NAAWP NEWS, #54, 1988)

BIOLOGICAL DETERMINISM AND ARYAN SUPREMACY

"You know, you cannot really talk about the crime problem unless you talk about the race problem."

(Duke interview with Burwell Ware, 1984)

"(A) black... gets a job with a white-owned company. He is the only black at the firm. He works hard, but he's fighting a losing battle against his genes."

(Duke editorial, "The Black Plague," NAAWP News, Issue 32, 1985, p.5)

"The whole truth... is the idea that the racial makeup of America is vital to her well-being, that our genetic and cultural heritage must be preserved, and that the best elements in our people must be promoted and cultivated so that our people can realize their promise in the stars."

(Duke editorial, "New White Minority," NAAWP News, Issue 37, 1986, p.2)

"Race is the most critical factor in the well-being of America."

(Duke, "New White Minority," NAAWP News, 37, 1986, p.2)

"The real strength of America is the quality of her people, the genetic excellence of her founding white majority."

(Duke editorial, "New White Minority," NAAWP NEWS, #37, 1986, p.2)

"We (the NAAWP), don't believe that America can continue to exist unless the white race remains the primary element in our society."

(Duke interview with HUSTLER, reprinted in NAAWP NEWS, #37, 1986, p.5)

HUSTLER: Okay. Do you think blacks are less intelligent than whites...?

DUKE: Sure... If you ask me whether blacks are as well-suited as whites in a modern technological society of the Western variety, the answer is no. Yet some of their characteristics are superior.

HUSTLER: What are those?

DUKE: The average black probably has more ability for playing basketball than the average white.

(Duke interview with HUSTLER, reprinted in NAAWP NEWS, #37, 1986)

"What makes this country great was the racial stock that came to America and built it... as soon as we lose that stock -- and we're losing it every day -- we're going to lose the things we care and love about this country."

(Duke interview with Gallery, reprinted in NAAWP NEWS, #38, 1986, p.5)

"(Poverty is) a biological problem, and we'll never solve it unless we tackle the biological end of it..."

(Duke, Gallery interview, reprinted in NAAWP NEWS, #38, 1986)

"We (whites), are the majority, and we do create the great aspects of Western Civilization."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, February 20, 1986)

"I sincerely believe that the future of this country, civilization, and planet is inseparably bound up with the destiny of the white race."

(Duke letter, NAAWP NEWS, #41, 1987, p.3)

"Some people (blacks) are born with the inclination to commit violence and murder as others are born with a natural talent in the ability to learn to play the piano."

(Duke editorial, "The lesson of Howard Beach," NAAWP News, Issue 43, 1987)

"If the quality of our people remains intact, we can rebuild a society more advanced and more free than before, but if we lose our precious racial heritage, all is lost, not just for decades or centuries, but for all time."

(Duke editorial on affirmative action; NAAWP NEWS, #44, 1987, p.4)

"I realized that the white species of humanity, that segment responsible for most of the world's great civilizations, was in grave danger of extinction. And I came to understand that the most crucial element in the well-being of any society was, ultimately, the biological

quality of the people who compose it. I learned that once the gene pool was damaged all hope and promise for the future would be lost irretrievably."

(Duke quote, Instauration, December, 1988)

"The basic culture of this country is European and Christian and I think if we lose that we lose America. Yes, I believe that a hundred percent... I think that if we lose that white... dominance in America, with it we lose America."

(Duke speech, July 23, 1988 -- Washington Populist Party Convention)

"The real value, the real resource of this country is not our land, it is our blood."

(Duke speech, 7/23/88 -- Washington Populist Party Convention)

"This country is overwhelmingly of (white) European descent. It's overwhelmingly Christian. And if we lose our underpinning, I think we're going to lose the foundations of America." (Duke speech, National Press Club--Washington D.C., December 4, 1991)

GENETIC ENGINEERING/EUGENICS

"I became convinced that the real answer to the world's problems was not in better tools of men, but in better men."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

INTERVIEWER: ...your philosophy, would you call it Nazi?

DUKE: ...In some ways probably, sure... as far as many genetic ideas in improving the race.

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"...a sociology of virtue is impossible without a biology of intelligence... bad biology is what's turning us down. When we develop the will to make a better man, we will not only have a much more virtuous society, but one that will someday touch the heavens."

(Duke, open letter to George Will, NAAWP News, 1986)

"The ultimate issue is Darwinian... the choice is clear. You and your actions over the next few decades will decide who will propagate and who will not, who will control and who will be controlled..."

(Duke article, "The Black Population Bomb," NAAWP News, Issue 48, 1988)

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

"The fact that they (the Holocaust survivors) survived themselves, is a tremendous argument for the fact that extermination didn't take place."

(Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"Did you ever notice how many survivors they have? Did you ever notice that? Everybody -- every time you turn around, 15,000 survivors meet here, 400 survivors

convention there. I mean, did you ever notice? Nazis sure were inefficient weren't they? Boy, boy, boy!... You almost have no survivors that ever say they saw a gas chamber or saw the workings of a gas chamber... they'll say these preposterous stories that anybody can check out to be a lie, an absolute lie." (Duke/Rich interview, March, 1985)

"If they, (the Nazis), were going to kill Jews they wouldn't have shipped them from Holland to Auschwitz to kill them. They can kill them in Holland just as well." (Duke/Rich interview, March, 1985)

"That's what's so funny about the Holocaust... this stuff's so sloppy... I mean, the whole thing comes down like a house of cards because it's just bullshit..." (Duke/Rich interview, March, 1985)

"You know, they had a soccer field at Auschwitz. They had an orchestra at Auschwitz, and... the band was for the prisoner's enjoyment -- pleasure." (Duke/Rich interview, March, 1985)

"I tend to believe now that it, (the Holocaust) didn't happen, O.K?" (Duke/Rich interview, March, 1985)

"...this was the kind of the work of some Hollywood script writer because they got all fucked up... because what they said was: 'Nazis hooked up diesel engines.' And there was about two or three thousand Jews in the room and they'd hook up diesel engines and in about 15 minutes...this huge room and all the Jews would be gassed and they'd all be puking and they'd all turn blue and everything and then they'd die O.K.?... Well, they had a chemist who was an expert in toxicology... he said these diesel engines would have to run about 36 hours and then these Jews would just be getting a little sick, heh, heh, you know, because the level of carbon monoxide was so low that it would take a tremendously long exposure to kill anybody in that sense. But see, what it is, is some Jewish writer in Hollywood writing this crap..." (Duke/Rich interview, 3/85)

"They (the Nazis) had Zyklon-B gas because of the problems with lice and cholera and epidemics." (Duke/Rich interview, March, 1985)

"I don't talk about the Holocaust much... if people bring it up -- I'm very careful with it because it's a non-productive thing for me... First of all, people wouldn't believe it. It's too fantastic... It's like saying the world's flat..." (Duke interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985)

"I believe there were atrocities, yes, but I believe they were exxagerated." (Duke quote in "Duke Caucus," by Jason Berry, Gambit, 9/19/89)

VOICE SCRIPT -- DUKE/FIELDS/RICH INTERVIEW, 1986
COMPILED AND PREPARED BY THE LOUISIANA COALITION AGAINST
RACISM AND NAZISM

Lead-in: The following are excerpts from a February 17, 1986 interview conducted in Culver City, California. The setting is a hotel room at the annual conference of the Institute for Historical Review -- an organization dedicated to the belief that the Holocaust never happened. The voices you will hear are those of Joe Fields, a California-based neo-Nazi; David Duke, and Evelyn Rich, the interviewer.

In the first excerpt, Evelyn Rich is asking Joe Fields about his affinity for Nazism. As discussion turns to Field's admiration for Adolph Hitler, Duke joins in, noting his dislike for Jewish persons, and advocating resettlement of American Jews; a solution which he claims was Hitler's real goal. The listener should keep in mind that this interview took place six years after David Duke left the Klan, during a time when he now claims to have abandoned his racist past.

EXCERPT #1: DUKE AND FIELDS DISCUSS HITLER AND THE JEWS

FIELDS: Well, I told you how I feel about Hitler. To me, he was the ultimate. There was no other person in history who came as close as he did to finally getting rid of the influence of the Jews over the white man, and if it wasn't for our intervention, he would have done it.

DUKE: What did Hitler want to do with the Jews?

FIELDS: I think he wanted to break their influence... and he had a thing going with Madagascar...

DUKE: He wanted to, I think he wanted to resettle them.

FIELDS: Yeah, of course, they actually do deserve... (Duke laughs)... No, seriously, they actually do deserve everything they get. And if it was extermination, they would have deserved it.

RICH: Well David, what do you think?

DUKE: I think, ummm...

FIELDS: They're a pest. You know, when your house is rotting, you have termites, you get rid of the pests.

DUKE: Well, as I say -- people generally deserve what they push on other people. I think they're trying to exterminate our race. I think probably, in a moral sense, the Jewish people have been a blight. I mean as a whole -- not every Jew. And, they probably deserve to go into the ashbin of history. But, saying that, and actually shooting, or killing people in masses, are two different things. I'm not advocating some sort of extermination. I think the best thing is to resettle them some place where they can't exploit others. And I don't think they can live among themselves. I really don't. I think there numbers will dwindle rapidly and they'll have a great deal of problems.

FIELDS: A parasite can't live unless it's attached to a host.

DUKE: And also, the answer to all these things, I don't think is forced anything -- forcing the Jews to get out. You know what the answer is? It's developing a higher consciousness of racialism among our people. Because, you see, we are the majority -- white people are the majority -- and we do create the great aspects of Western Civilization, which both they enjoy and we enjoy, and if we ever developed a third of the racial consciousness and unity, solidarity that they have, there'd be no way that they could challenge us in media, arts, anything. I mean, after all, we can certainly write T.V. scripts every bit as good as the Jews. I mean, look at the history of English literature. They run it now. It's bullshit.

Lead in: In this second excerpt, Rich is asking Fields how he intends to channel his Nazi ideology -- perhaps by joining up with David Duke, or instead, striking out on his own. After a brief exchange, Duke jumps in, cautioning Fields not to be so open about his admiration for National Socialism. Duke then explains the importance of bringing new people into what could be called the white movement -- and warns that Fields should be less candid about his true beliefs.

EXCERPT #2: DUKE AND FIELDS DISCUSS STRATEGY

RICH: Well, do you have a definite direction that you want to go in? I mean, last night David was talking like you might go with him, or you might go with Metzger. You're just sitting there ready to be plucked? Or do you have definite ideas about what you want to do?

FIELDS: I like writing. I'd love to write for a newspaper, or be an editor, or maybe have an editorship. I'd like to have my own newspaper, but I'd have to get the money first. Maybe this law suit will help out.

RICH: You didn't have any trouble getting in to the IHR conference this year? Even though you said you're maybe not in such good favor with them any more?

- FIELDS: No, that's Brad-Smith. He just doesn't agree with me. He still -- he came over and talked to me, and I talked to him. There's no problem. We just don't agree. He's a libertarian -- I'm not.
- DUKE: I hate to be Machiavellian, but I would suggest that you don't really talk much about National Socialism on -- not counting this interview -- but in the future, publicly, too much. You need to leave your options open.
- RICH: Once you get branded a Nazi, you're branded.
- FIELDS: Yeah, but the thing is, I mean... They call you a Nazi right?
- DUKE: Yes.
- FIELDS: They call everyone a Nazi who doesn't go along with the Jewish line.
- DUKE: But there's a difference.
- FIELDS: So why not say, "Alright. I am. What are you going to do about it Jew?"
- DUKE: Well, there really is a difference. Of course, I'm on a different tactic. I'm trying to bring new people in, like a drummer. The difference is, if they can call you a Nazi and make it stick -- tough, really hard -- it's going to hurt. It's going to hurt the ability of people to open their minds to what you're saying. It's going to hurt your ability to communicate with them. It's unfortunate it's like that.
- FIELDS: I think most people aren't ever going to come over until things get tough -- we have a depression and people start losing their homes.
- DUKE: I think that's a very defeatist philosophy.
- FIELDS: No, I look forward to that. I look forward to it happening.
- DUKE: I think it's defeatist 'cos you have no guarantee of that happening. This government -- it might take decades to bring this government down.

- Lead-in: In this, the third excerpt, Duke argues that the white majority has truth on its side, and thus, will eventually prevail in the struggle for America. Fields notes that Hitler started small and worked his way up and Duke agrees. David then acknowledges that he may be the one to lead the American equivalent of Nazism, and finally admits that, although his ideology is similar to that of Fields, he "wheedles out" of his Nazism because of pragmatic concerns.

EXCERPT #3: DUKE AND FIELDS DISCUSS OVERTHROWING
THE GOVERNMENT

DUKE: But here's the thing: we've got the truth. We've got absolute truth. If you compare the two ideologies...

FIELDS: Yeah, but who cares? The average guy doesn't care who's got the truth, just as long as he's got a T.V. and enough to eat.

DUKE: Well see, the way I look at it -- and maybe I shouldn't, 'cos it leads to a lot of frustration -- I look at it, that if we've got the truth on our side and we're the majority -- if we fail, it's something lacking in us. You know, they've got cults in this country for every wierd philosophy and belief -- you name it.

FIELDS: It doesn't take that many people though, to start something rolling. Hitler started with seven men.

DUKE: That's what I'm trying to say to you.

FIELDS: And most people didn't want to have anything to do with him.

DUKE: Right! And don't you think it can happen right now, if we put the right package together? Don't you think that there are millions of Americans that are alienated and are looking for something, and the truth is the truth, and give 'em something to believe in?

RICH: And Guru Duke will come along.

DUKE: Not necessarily me -- somebody -- My God! I might have to do it because nobody else might come along to do it.

FIELDS: Well, maybe I wouldn't go out and say I'm a Nazi, you know, Hitler, National Socialism -- but I'd never deny it. I'd never deny it. It's like a Christian -- you know, when Christianity first started they were feeding them to the lions. They still wore their crosses. They went to their death. They never gave up. It's like a faith. It's not just politics. It's a religion...

DUKE: (Interrupting) Well, I try to avoid it...

FIELDS: (Continuing) You have to feel it in your soul...

DUKE: (Stepping over Field's words) I wheedle out of it because I'm a pragmatist.

Lead-in: In this final excerpt, Duke and Fields discuss their differences, with Duke acknowledging that the white majority will need fighters like Fields in the coming battles. Duke then likens Jews to a tiger, stalking a man in the jungle -- noting that the man must kill the tiger before the tiger kills him. David then blames the Jewish people for what he calls the "terrible and unfortunate things" which will happen in America in the future.

EXCERPT #4: DUKE AND FIELDS DISCUSS THEIR DIFFERENCES
AND THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR AMERICA

DUKE: I'm one of those people that said, "Well, I've got the truth right here." And I've tried every damn way in the world. I experimented. I tried. I'm still experimenting and trying.

FIELDS: I would have made a good inquisitor in the Middle ages. I'm kind of dogmatic.

RICH: What, thumb screws? (Duke laughs)

FIELDS: Yeah, go after the heretics. Would have enjoyed that.

DUKE: Well, I don't think I would have. That's just the difference that makes the world go round. (laughs) But apparently, our side might need a few of these if we're going to survive. We're going to need a lot of fighters. We're going to need a lot of people that are very tough.

FIELDS: I'm so impatient. I can't wait for something to happen.

DUKE: It's like you're out in the jungle and there's this magnificent Bengal Tiger, which I think is the greatest, brave, most beautiful creation of nature -- magnificent machine -- power, beauty, intelligence, and the things about ready to jump you. Well, it's unfortunate, but you've got to pull out your shotgun and do him in, or he's going to do you in when the time comes -- like Hitler. There's a lot of unfortunate and terrible things that are going to happen in this country, I'm afraid. I'm sorry to see it. I give the Jew responsibility for that. And I know that if we don't succeed, there will be an even worse reality on this planet.

SELECT 1989 QUOTES FROM DAVID DUKE

(November 29, 1989 interview by Abby Kaplan at Duke's office)

RACIAL BELIEFS:

"I do believe in racial science... I believe that, in fact, nationality comes from genes..."

WHITE SUPREMACY:

"I believe that there are genetic differences between races and that they profoundly affect culture... there are differences in physical abilities, there's differences in musical abilities, and there's differences in I.Q.... There's some things that give whites advantages in certain areas... and I.Q. is a reflection of Western culture -- or Western civilization... And I think that whites score better in that particular category, that particular talent."

GENETIC CAUSE OF CRIME AMONG BLACKS:

"I do think that there are certain tendencies, certain behavioral tendencies, that are inherited, and I think that Blacks generally, in terms of our society, have more of a tendency to act in anti-social ways."

Interviewer: You mean creating crime?

Duke: Well yeah... same thing is true all over the world.

NAZISM AND HITLER:

Interviewer: Do you believe we made a mistake in entering World War II?

Duke: I think that we should not have gotten involved in the war... I think the Second World War was damaging to the West and to freedom.

Duke: (on Hitler's racial theories): "Some of them, the idea that the races are different, I would agree with."

Duke: "I certainly don't embrace and didn't embrace all aspects of Nazism."

GOVERNMENT PROGRAM TO BREED A MASTER RACE:

"I'd like to see, furthermore, we have all the top 10% graduates of the Universities have

• some sort of encouragement like that, a loan program, like a low interest loan program to have children."

"I see nothing wrong with encouraging unproductive people to have fewer children economically, and encouraging the most productive people to have children. And I think that adds beauty to the whole society, and quality, and excellence to all society."

PLAN TO DIVIDE AMERICA INTO SEPARATE RACIAL NATIONS:

Interviewer: ...in an ADL packet I received there was a quote from you from the Baton Rouge State-Times in 1985, (you said) "We don't have a program to send them back to Africa. I think that's impractical. We do feel, an ideal, perhaps an impossible ideal, would be geographic separation of the races, either within this country or on an extra-continental basis."

Duke: That's possible. That's a possibility... A lot of blacks have wanted that kind of solution, like Marcus Garvey had a movement to do that, and geographic separation could include neighborhoods, could include anything. That may be a possible solution.

THE NEED FOR MORE ALL-WHITE NATIONS:

"There's only one country anymore that's all-white, and that's Iceland. And Iceland is not enough."

...CAJUNS TO VERMONT, BLACKS TO ALABAMA, ITALIANS TO NEW YORK.

An ideal . . . would be geographic separation of the races, either within this country or on an extracontinental basis."

—David Duke

Baton Rouge State Times

April 15, 1985



David Duke advocates a bizarre scheme to relocate people into separate racial nations. In 1984, Duke published a map of an "ideal" America in which Cajuns, Blacks, Italians and other ethnic groups would be forcibly moved into separate countries. The plan, published in Duke's NAAWP NEWS, carried the following warning: "If the races are not separated...the Majority will have to fight for survival or go completely under...We no longer hold the reins of our culture...Separation and the surrender of a great deal of our land and property may well be our only means of survival. The only other course is racial war."

Nazi Race Doctrine in the Political Thought of David Duke

By Lance Hill

Locating David Duke's position on the political spectrum involves analyzing several elements, including both his public message as well as his underlying ideology. Duke identifies himself as a populist and a racist, while his critics assign him labels ranging from white supremacist to Nazi. This paper will examine one aspect of Duke's mature political thought, his race doctrine, and analyze the manner in which his thinking remains permeated with National Socialism (Nazism).

The election of David Duke to the Louisiana State Legislature in 1989 drew international media attention. During the campaign, most of the controversy surrounding Duke derived from his association with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan -- in which he was active from 1973 to 1980. That emphasis on Duke's Klan phase tended to obscure the crucial ideological thread that continues to connect and define his political activity over the past twenty-one years. That common thread is National Socialism.

In recent years Duke has dismissed his associations with Nazism as little more than a youthful indiscretion. He refuses to admit any direct involvement in the Nazi movement. In truth, Duke entered the far-right movement as an avowed National Socialist. Like his National Socialist forbearers, Duke's politics have been marked by opportunism. For twenty years he has searched for a device to popularize his racist views. His new-found conservatism provided a polite language for his race doctrine.

Duke's journey across the political spectrum parallels Hitler's, who also began as a revolutionist but acquired power constitutionally as a "jobs and bread" conservative. As did Hitler, Duke has adapted Nazism to the prejudices, fears, aspirations, and political culture of the nation, thus representing himself as part of the national political tradition. This process has culminated in Duke's new political image in which his designs for profound inequality and autocracy are clothed in the rhetoric of equality and democracy.¹

Duke's official biography paints a portrait of a young man drawn to the simple segregationist views of the Ku Klux Klan. In fact, Duke was initiated into the extremist right as a National Socialist. Evidence indicates that the first organization which Duke joined was the neo-Nazi National Socialist Liberation Front (NSLF).² The NSLF was the college-youth organizing section of America's largest neo-Nazi organization, the National Socialist White Peoples Party, commonly known as the American Nazi Party.

¹. Quotes by David Duke contained herein are excerpted from signed editorials and letters appearing in the NAAWP NEWS between 1982 and 1988. Duke is the publisher and frequent editor of the NAAWP NEWS. Issues are numbered but not dated, creating some difficulty in determining the exact month of publication. Additional quotes are excerpted from a 1989 taped interview.

². Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism (LCARN), The Politics and Background of State Representative David Duke (New Orleans: Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism, 1990), biography section. Available in the Louisiana Coalition Collection of the Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, Louisiana.

- In the ensuing years Duke attempted to conceal his early Nazi Party affiliation. But in 1969 a younger and unabashed Duke told a crowd at Louisiana State University, "I am a National Socialist. You can call me a Nazi if you want to."³

In November of 1969 the Louisiana State University student newspaper Reveille opened up its editorial page to the intrepid young Nazi who wrote:

The NSLF has different views from the run-of-the-mill political groups on campus, whether they support the right or the left. Their approach to the problems confronting our civilization is completely mechanical, economic, and materialistic. National Socialism, on the other hand, is unique!...We believe that race plays a primary part in our civilization and our culture, and that a particular culture is a product of the realization of a race's inner soul and spirit. ⁴

More than a defense of Duke's college Nazi group, Duke's editorial is a succinct restatement of Nazi doctrine, particularly as expressed in Hitler's Mein Kampf. Indeed, during his college career Duke once rebuked a professor for criticizing Mein Kampf, which Duke said "was the greatest piece of literature of the twentieth century."⁵ As we shall see, twenty years later Duke remained faithful to these Nazi principles, though expressing them through a new political vocabulary purged of classical Nazi language.

To compare Duke's contemporary politics to National Socialism, we must first outline the broad features of Nazi ideology. National Socialism was a historically evolving system of ideas which changed from the founding of the German Workers Party in 1919 to the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945. Its antecedents date back to the nineteenth century. From its beginning, National Socialism was shaped by the contending influences of party ideologues, especially Dietrich Eckart, Gottfried Feder, Alfred K. Rosenberg, Otto and Gregor Strasser, and Richard Walther Darré. ⁶

Following the demise of the Third Reich, National Socialism continued to evolve. Post World War II neo-Nazi ideologues such as Francis Parker Yockey adapted National

³. Bob Anderson, "Jews, blacks lambasted at heated Alley," The Daily Reveille, November 13, 1969, p.1.

⁴. David Duke, "Duke on Nazism -- His Superior System," The Daily Reveille, November 19, 1969.

⁵. New Orleans States-Item, May 26, 1975.

⁶. Lane, Barbara Miller and Leila J. Rupp, Nazi Ideology before 1933: A Documentation (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), xvi and Introduction in general for a discussion of these competing influences.

- Socialist doctrine to contemporary American politics, stripping it of its German national trappings. The product is an Americanized Nazism with new terms for old concepts ["founding majority" substitutes for "Aryan"; "non-productives" for "inferior races" (untermensch)]. For the most part, American neo-Nazis such as Duke acquired their understanding of National Socialism from either contemporary derivative works such as Yockey's Imperium, or from the pre-1933 Nazi classics Mein Kampf and Alfred K. Rosenberg's Myth of the Twentieth Century.⁷ As late as 1989 Duke was offering both of these books through his Nazi-book mail-order business, touting Rosenberg as a "leading philosopher of Europe" and describing his Nazi magnum opus as "inspiring."⁸

German Nazi Race Doctrine

Nazi politics went through three distinct stages following its founding in 1919. From 1919 to 1923, Nazism put forth a revolutionary, illegal image. It openly advocated the overthrow of the fragile German democracy. In 1923 this is precisely what Hitler attempted in the infamous "Beerhall Putsch." The revolt failed and Hitler and other Nazi leaders were imprisoned. Upon his release in 1924, Hitler revamped the Nazi Party image. In its second stage, 1924 through Hitler's ascent to power in January of 1933, the Nazi Party represented itself as a legal party which pursued power through constitutional means. The shift toward legality was entirely for the sake of political expediency: Nazi goals remained the same while the rhetoric shifted toward the middle of the political spectrum.

Moreover, the Nazi Party de-emphasized its anti-democratic goals. Nothing in its program suggested that free elections and civil liberties would be suspended. Nor did the Nazi Party offer any hint of its designs to exterminate the Jews. It was not until the third stage, commencing with its consolidation of power in 1933, that the full horror of Nazi doctrine came to light. David Duke's racial doctrines, for the most part, have been drawn from Hitler's writings in the second stage of Nazism -- the period of opportunism during which the Party attempted to legitimize itself through a law-abiding, conservative image, counterbalancing its extremist reputation.

Throughout the three periods, National Socialism retained a few common principles. These include: exaggerated nationalism; racial Social Darwinism -- marked by virulent anti-Semitism; expansionistic social imperialism; the exaltation of action over intellect; and glorification of individual, authoritarian leadership. While National Socialism is fundamentally revolutionary, in that it seeks to overthrow the old social order, it primarily thrives on negativity: it is anti-democracy, anti-liberalism, anti-Marxist, and holds a profound disdain for human and moral values. Of all of these elements, it is National Socialism's racial theories which distinguish it from all other revolutionary movements. History is plagued with totalitarian governments and ethnic atrocities. Yet

⁷. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Extremism on the Right (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1988), 56-57.

⁸. "Americana Books" advertisement, NAAWP NEWS, no. 50, 1988.

only Nazism strove to re-organize the world racially and exterminate entire races in this process. And it is this aspect of National Socialism, its most dangerous dimension, which survives most clearly in David Duke's thought.⁹

At the core of National Socialism's racial theories are the related notions of biological determinism and Aryan supremacy. National Socialists view the world as patchwork of distinct racial nations, each nationality imbued with a particular "spiritual unity," with specific moral, physical, and intellectual qualities. In contemporary National Socialist vernacular, the pseudo-scientific term "genetic homogeneity" takes the place of the older, mystical concept of "spiritual unity.") Rising above these contentious, "inferior races" is the Aryan -- German-Nordic North Europeans who constitute the master race.

For National Socialists, nation and race are identical. National qualities such as culture and intelligence are not the product of environment nor can they be absorbed by mere contact between nations. National qualities are immutable, imbedded in race, thus making it impossible for "inferior" nations to rise to the same cultural level as the Aryans. National Socialists argue that the existence of the superior Aryans is threatened by lesser races, including Slavs, Czechs, Poles, Blacks, and Jews. In its final, developed stage, National Socialism proposes to elevate the Aryans to their rightful ascendant position by purifying the Aryan race, while subjugating or exterminating the inferior races.¹⁰

National Socialist racial theories did not develop as an aberration of the 1920's. Its distinctive features -- racist biological determinism, Aryan supremacy, and anti-Semitism -- all find well-developed antecedents in the nineteenth century "volkisch" and Pan-German movements. Tracing the development of these ideas can provide insight into the ideological roots of David Duke's political philosophy.

"Volkisch" has no direct English equivalent, translating literally as "of the people." Unlike the American notion of a heterogeneous "melting pot" nationality, volkisch-nationalism suggests that race and nation are identical. Only members of the "superior" German race are members of the German nationality. This German Nation is imbued with a distinctive greatness, intelligence, and creativity. Volkisch-nationalism emerged as a nineteenth century German ideological movement based on racism and anti-Semitism. It glorified Germans as a millenarian people entrusted with an imperial mission to rule over non-Germans. Its worldview was anti-modernist and anti-liberal,

⁹. Bracher, Karl Dietrich The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Effects of National Socialism, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), pp.47, 128 and Adolf Hitler Mein Kampf, Ralph Manheim transn. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), passim.

¹⁰. For a thorough discussion of this outline, see Ernst Nolte, Three Faces of Fascism: Action Francaise, Italian Fascism, National Socialism, Leila Vennewitz trans. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1965).

- positing itself as the last redoubt to industrialization and capitalism. ¹¹ Volkisch nationalism found its most fervent proponents in Habsburg Austria where "pure Germans" resented the "dark races" of the Empire, including the Slavs, Jews, and Czechs.

By the end of the nineteenth century, advocates of volkisch-nationalism were combining Darwinism with their doctrine of national-racial purity, giving rise to an even more racist worldview. Volkisch-nationalists twisted Darwinist theories of natural selection, adapting them to the human world. They proposed that, just as in the world of animals, the demise of inferior people was natural and beneficial. The volkisch movement extended Darwin's theories to nations, arguing that competition and elimination of nations were natural parts of international relations. In the twentieth century Hitler would express these ideas with detached cogency: "Those who want to live, let them fight," advised Hitler, "and those who do not want to fight in this world of eternal struggle do not deserve to live." ¹²

The volkisch movement also adapted Darwinism to the Jewish question. Jews were perceived as agents of destruction of traditional German values. They were held responsible for Industrialism (as manipulators of finance capital), liberalism, and Marxism. Volkisch-nationalist racial theories were invoked to characterize Jews as an inassimilable biological entity. ¹³ Relegating Jews to a sub-human biological specie would later serve to rationalize their extermination under the Third Reich.

The Pan-German movement of George von Schonerer also absorbed elements of these volkisch views. This movement strove for a Pan-German Empire which united all German-speaking people to rule over non-German nationalities. By the beginning of the twentieth century this racist volkisch movement had gained considerable strength, and had even elected members of its movement to the reichstag (German parliament). ¹⁴

There were many other influences in National Socialist thinking, including the nineteenth century writings of Richard Wagner, Joseph Arthur Gobineau, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. However Hitler's initial exposure to these ideas came during his stay in Vienna beginning in 1908. In the heart of the multi-national Habsburg Empire, Hitler found himself surrounded by the impoverished members of what the volkisch adherents perceived as the "dark races." Hitler was soon attracted to the occult wing of the volkisch-nationalist movement and became an

¹¹. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

¹². Hitler, p. 289.

¹³. Goodrick-Clarke, p. 5.

¹⁴. Bracher, pp. 40-44.

avid reader of the teachings of Adolf Josef Lanz, also known as Lanz von Liebenfels.¹⁵

An occult practitioner of an intensely racist volkisch worldview, Lanz was infatuated with medieval Teutonic mythology, replete with Gods and Knights and Holy Grails. The former monk had authored the book curiously titled Theo-Zoology or the Lore of the Sodom-Apelings and the Electron of the Gods. Lanz believed that the blond-haired, blue-eyed Aryans were the Adamic biblical race of Genesis. The heroic Aryans debased themselves by inter-breeding with beasts, thus creating the "lower races."¹⁶ This act of miscegenation signalled the Aryan fall from grace; from that moment forward they were haunted and terrorized by the "dark-people" who threatened destruction.

The conflict between the Aryans and non-Aryans was a battle between good and evil, between civilization and barbarism.¹⁷ For Lanz, the only solution to this conflict was extermination. The blond-blue Aryan solution would include "humane extermination of the inferior races through an enforced program of sterilization and castrations." At the same time the Aryan race would be purified through a eugenic program in which racially superior children would be bred in convents by brood-mothers and Aryan stud-males.¹⁸

Hitler absorbed much of this thinking through Lanz's publication, Ostara, which he collected in 1909. On one occasion Hitler even met personally with Lanz.¹⁹ Twenty-five years later Hitler had his first opportunity to realize Lanz's eugenic schemes through the government-ordered sterilization of the physically and mentally handicapped. By 1941 Hitler had expanded Lanz's plans to encompass euthanasia for the handicapped. Similar eugenic theories inspired Himmler's designs to breed an Aryan master race through the Lebensborn program and his proposed polygamy for the "pure Aryan" SS soldiers. The attempted extermination of Jews was the clearest example of Lanz's volkisch madness infecting the Nazi state.²⁰

Hitler combined Lanz's ideas and other volkisch notions into his Mein Kampf. Penned during his imprisonment at Landsburg am Lech in 1924, Hitler intended Mein Kampf to be a coherent presentation of his political worldview. Superficial and occasionally

¹⁵. Ibid. p. 197.

¹⁶. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

¹⁷. Ibid., 197.

¹⁸. Ibid., pp. 96-97.

¹⁹. Ibid., p. 195.

²⁰. Ibid., p. 97.

impenetrable, Mein Kampf was a jumble of political prejudices and extremist nostrums which circulated in Germany and Austria during the Weimar Republic period. At times the book revealed the influences of Nazi ideologues such as Alfred K. Rosenberg and Dietrich Eckart.²¹ But Hitler's only acknowledged mentor in Mein Kampf was Gottfried Feder. For Feder, finance capital -- rather than the Jews -- was responsible for the social problems of Industrialization. Traditional Populist economic panaceas such as the abolition of interest figured prominently in Feder's thinking.²²

Hitler grafted these socialist principles onto his racist volkisch-nationalism, hence the term "national socialism." In this sense, Mein Kampf reflected traditional German sensibilities, refining them into a complete world-view. Mein Kampf's National Socialist principles were clear: biological determinism; equation of race and nation; Aryan supremacy in culture and biology; "sub-race" inferiority; Jewish conspiracy and domination; and eugenics. It was a world in which the lordly Aryans were encumbered by Jews, the lower races, liberal democracy, and Marxism.

Duke's Racial Thought

National Socialist race-doctrine remained the foundation for David Duke's political thought throughout the 1980's. During his legislative bid in 1989, Duke insisted that he had abandoned his racist views when he departed the klan in 1980 and created the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). Despite these claims of apostasy, Duke's public embrace of conservatism owes more to political expediency than to moral conversion. Indeed, on several occasions from 1989 through 1990 Duke made statements which indicated an enduring faithfulness to Nazi race-doctrine. As late as November, 1989, David Duke reaffirmed his extremist racial beliefs when he told an interviewer that he still believed in "racial science":

I do believe in racial science. I believe we should be able to study that, and learn about that, and see if race does make an impact on civilization and culture. I tend to believe it does.....²³

Compare Duke's wording:

I believe that in fact nationality comes from genes...²⁴

And then Hitler's:

²¹. Hitler, p. xv.

²². Ibid., p. xvi.

²³. LCARN, "Interview Transcript," 1989 interview, p. 4.

²⁴. Ibid.

...nationality or rather race does not happen to lie in language but in blood... ²⁵

Here Duke echoes the National Socialist precept of the identity of nation and race: that nationality is genetically imbedded, and that culture and civilization are controlled by nationality. Both Hitler and Duke are arguing against the notion that people of different ethnic backgrounds can be assimilated into a national culture. Both argue that genetic inferiority limits the ability of ethnic groups to absorb "superior culture." For Duke, America is not a melting pot in which new immigrants assimilate American culture and make their own contribution. Instead, in Duke's eyes Africans, Hispanics, Jews and even some Europeans (Southern Italians) pollute the gene pool and destroy American culture (Duke even retains this concept in several of his campaign speeches, albeit in sanitized form).²⁶

In the same interview Duke was queried on the relationship of his "racial science" to the theories of Adolf Hitler. He was asked about a 1985 interview in which he declared that he thought Hitler was "right on race." Duke responded:

You know, so many quotes out of context...I wouldn't say Hitler was right on race, but I do believe that there are genetic differences between the races and that they profoundly affect culture. ²⁷

In this comment Duke repeats a familiar pattern. First he denies his belief in the principle, but then follows with a statement that virtually reaffirms the principle. These contradictory comments are a product of the conflict between his Nazi worldview and his attempts to feign conservatism. He is, quite simply, falling out of character. In the interview Duke went on to argue that races differed in physical ability, musical talent, and intelligence. Whites were "inherently" superior in the latter category:

There's some things that give whites advantages in certain areas...and I.Q. is a reflection of western culture - or western civilization...And I think whites score better in that particular category, that particular talent. ²⁸

Here Duke echoes the National Socialist belief that whites (the term Aryan is interchangeable in Duke's usage) possess a unique, genetic superiority in the sphere of culture and intelligence. Prior to his election in 1989, Duke was even more candid

²⁵. Hitler, p. 389.

²⁶. For Duke on race and culture, see his extensive comments in "Videotape Interview," 1984, Xavier Archives, Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana; Duke Campaign Television Program, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, Louisiana.

²⁷. LCARN "Interview," p. 2.

²⁸. Ibid., p. 2.

about his racial views. In December of 1988, while he was publicly denying charges of extremism, Duke continued to express fundamental agreement with biological determinism, the heart of National Socialist race theory. Duke told the neo-fascist publication Instauration:

I realized that the white species of humanity, that segment responsible for most of the world's great civilizations, was in grave danger of extinction. And I came to understand that the most crucial element in the well-being of any society was, ultimately, the biological quality of the people who compose it. I learned that once the gene pool was damaged all hope and promise for the future would be lost irretrievably.²⁹

In this instance, Duke restates three essential premises of Nazi race doctrine. First, that people of North European descent are the sole producers of great culture. Second, that this cultural superiority is the product of biology. Natural resources, climate, geography, technology, politics, and economics are all minor influences in the development of a people. Race determines history. Civilization derives from the genetic composition of a people. Race sets absolute limits on the advance of some people. Racial distinctions are so influential that they can lead "one people to go to the moon while another lives in the mud."³⁰ Finally, Duke repeats the millenarian National Socialist theme that civilization will perish without whites. When one compares Duke's 1988 phraseology with that of Hitler's, the similarity is striking. In Mein Kampf Hitler observed that:

Everything we admire on this earth today -- science and art, technology and inventions -- is only the creative product of a few peoples and originally perhaps one race [Aryans]. On them depends the existence of this whole culture. If they perish, the beauty of this earth will sink into the grave with them.³¹

Examining the two quotes above, we see parallel themes. Duke has taken Hitler's concepts and adapted them to contemporary American scientific jargon and political concepts. But the meaning remains the same. Elsewhere Duke is more specific about the unique racial characteristics of whites. White's brains are literally "wired" differently than others:

The truth is that our brains are like magnificent computers with billions of

²⁹. Instauration, Dec. 1988.

³⁰. David Duke, "Letter of the Month," NAAWP NEWS no. 39, 1986, p. 3.

³¹. Hitler, p. 288.

circuits and architecture that varies from person to person and race to race.³²

At times Duke finds it awkward to remain faithful to Hitler's Aryan mythology. National Socialists regarded the Aryan as a physically superior being, a myth Jesse Owens left in the dust. But Duke is undaunted by history. Duke argues that whites are superior to Blacks in "strength, endurance, and finesse sports." For evidence Duke observes that whites dominate the athletic field in Polo, bobsledding, Ice Sailing, and curling. Black genetic defects, rather than income or geography, supposedly account for their poor performance in these sports.³³

Having established the National Socialist premise of racial superiority, Duke then embraces the concept of racial inferiority. During the 1980's Duke attempted to deflect criticism of his racism by arguing that races are not superior or inferior, but simply have different traits. Through this device, Duke attempts to impart an egalitarian and modern air to his 19th century thinking. Yet the idea that races are genetically "separate but equal" is still consistent with the Nazi tenet that nationalities are biologically distinct species. And although races merely possess different "traits," Duke carefully assigns these traits different values on a hierarchical scale. Predictably, Duke's white "genetic" traits are those indispensable to contemporary civilization: intellect, technological expertise, and the capacity of govern. In 1983 told Hustler magazine, "If you ask me whether blacks are as well suited as whites in a modern technological society of the Western variety, the answer is no."³⁴ For Duke, even crime is genetically ingrained in Blacks:

I do think that there are certain tendencies, certain behavioral tendencies, that are inherited, and I think that Blacks generally, in terms of our society, have more of a tendency to act in anti-social ways.³⁵

As is often the case, in the above quote Duke employs sociological language to give a scientific flavor to his crude biological determinism. "Tendency to act in anti-social ways" is an understated descriptive phrase that only takes on ominous tones when linked to the term "inherited." In Duke's world of race, crime is not produced by poverty or environment, but rather the product of a biologically defective people. Eliminate the defective race, and crime is eliminated. During the Senate campaign Duke defended his criminal theories by returning to his "separate but equal" ploy.

³². David Duke, "Letter of the Month," NAAWP NEWS, no. 39, 1986, p. 2.

³³. David Duke, "Are Whites Inferior Athletes?," NAAWP NEWS, no. 23, 1983, p. 5.

³⁴. Michael Bane, "David Duke: Is the White Race Doomed?" Hustler, reprinted in NAAWP NEWS, no. 24, 1983, p.5.

³⁵. LCARN, "Interview Transcript," 1989 interview, p. 3.

Whites, too, were victims of biology when it comes to crime, confessed Duke:

White people, for example, have a tremendous tendency towards car theft. There is something in white people that makes them steal cars a lot more than black people. Genetics are reflected in various aspects of society - music, art, singing...³⁶

Hitler's influence on Duke's thinking regarding Jews is also evident. Duke portrays Jews as a powerful, manipulative, alien elite bent on corrupting white civilization. "A small, alien minority [Jews] has control over the airwaves, and it is costing us our freedoms, our cultural integrity, our money, and even our lives," warns Duke in a 1983 article entitled, "Who Runs the Media?"³⁷ Though Jews have inhabited America for nearly three-hundred and sixty-five years, they are forever condemned to "alien" status in the National Socialist worldview of Duke. Because of their unique genetic composition, they remain eternally outside and destructive to "western culture" (e.g. "white" culture).

The media is dominated by Jews...As a result, the media -- and by media I mean movies, TV, newspapers and magazines--is more a reflection of Jewish values than Western values. These Jews are not good Americans.³⁸

Duke's anti-Semitic portrait of Jews closely resembles Hitler's description of Jews as manipulative aliens. In Mein Kampf Hitler tell us:

The fact that nine tenths of all literary filth, artistic trash, and theatrical idiocy can be set to the account of a people [Jews], constituting hardly one hundredth of all the country's inhabitants, could simply not be talked away; it was the plain truth.³⁹

Duke's theories of "race-mixing" reveal an adherence to National Socialism that even extends to its most minute detail. For instance, Hitler dedicates a special section of Mein Kampf to refuting Mendel's "hybrid vigor" theory. Mendel believed that crossing species tended to promote the best traits of both species. The notion was anathema to Nazis given their opposition to race-mixing. The "hybrid vigor" theory threatened to discredit his tightly crafted racial cosmos. Hitler attempted to refute Mendel in Mein

³⁶. "Duke Interview Focuses on Present," Xavier Herald, Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana, Sept. 27, 1990.

³⁷. David Duke, "Who Runs the Media?," NAAWP NEWS, no. 18, 1983, p.1.

³⁸. Michael Bane, "David Duke: Is the White Race Doomed," Hustler, reprinted in NAAWP NEWS, no. 24, 1983, p.6.

³⁹. Hitler, p. 58; for Hitler on Jews as plunderers see Hitler, pp. 310.

Kampf:

If, for example, an individual specimen of a certain race were to enter into a union with a racially lower specimen, the result would be at first be a lowering of the standard itself; but in addition, there would be a weakening of the offspring as compared to the environment that had remained racially unmixed.⁴⁰

Duke makes the same argument in a 1986 signed editorial entitled, "Why I oppose Race Mixing":

What the public is not told is that Hybrid Vigor only exists for one generation, and then if certain traits are to be sustained there must be very controlled breeding of subsequent generations. If general mixing is allowed, there is always degeneration in the population.⁴¹

Duke's fear of miscegenation goes well beyond conventional Klan hostility against the mixing of blacks and whites. Duke goes to the extreme, and applies the policy to European "sub-races" (English, French, etc.). As late as 1986 Duke ardently defended Hitler's opposition to European inter-mixing:

The media also didn't tell the public that racial mixture leads to many physiological anomalies that can be very damaging. As an example, one can cite the fact that differences between European sub-races are nominal compared to those between the major races, yet even in mixing between them, we find severe physiological problems. For instance, braces and orthodontic work are needed much more commonly in the United States than in Europe because there is much more mixing here of different European sub-races...but the dentition problems may be minor compared to say the physiology of the brain and the vital organs.⁴²

In this remarkable passage Duke is suggesting that European nationalities are so genetically dissimilar that intermarriage could cause damage to "vital organs." Given the "melting pot" demographics of America, Duke's theory leads one to conclude that America is producing a generation of handicapped whites with orthodontic problems. Duke's basic racial cosmology precludes the possibility of miscegenation. From Duke's perspective, inter-racial marriage would always be to the disadvantage of the superior white race.

⁴⁰. Hitler, p. 400.

⁴¹. David Duke, "Why I Oppose Race Mixing," NAAWP NEWS, no. 42, 1986, p. 10.

⁴². David Duke, "Why I Oppose Race Mixing," NAAWP NEWS, no. 42, 1986, p. 10.

Duke's racial logic leads him to the several ominous solutions. Foremost is "racial integrity" -- the physical, genetic, and geographical separation of whites. "I embrace racial integrity because I know that genetic advances can better be identified and promoted in racially homogeneous populations, and I am interested in the improvement of my people with each generation."⁴³ To accomplish this racial separation, Duke draws inspiration from Nazi relocation schemes. In the past five years Duke has repeatedly proposed dividing America into separate racial nations and ending immigration from the Third World.⁴⁴

Duke's panacea of racial separation is complemented by National Socialist-inspired dreams of government eugenic programs. Duke advocates many of the Nazi eugenic programs promoted by Hitler in the 1924-1933 period, attempting to legitimize them by suggesting that they would be voluntary. In 1984 Duke published an NAAWP editorial calling for a government loan program to encourage white couples to have more children. One-fourth of the loan would be forgiven for each child produced. Duke's plan was not an original idea. The plan was first conceived in 1933 by the Nazi government.⁴⁵ As recently as 1989 Duke continued to espouse similar government sponsored race-purification projects.⁴⁶ In November of 1989 Duke explained his views on the necessity of government control of reproduction:

I see nothing wrong with encouraging unproductive people to have fewer children, economically, and encouraging the most productive people to have children. And I think that adds beauty to the whole society, and quality and excellence to all society.⁴⁷

Hitler articulated the same philosophy sixty-four years before:

It [the Nazi state] must see to it that only the healthy beget children; that there is only one disgrace; despite one's own sickness and deficiencies, to bring children into the world...and conversely it must be considered reprehensible; to withhold children from the state.⁴⁸

Duke specifically proposes that the government provide low-interest loans to the top

⁴³. Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁴. LCARN, "Interview Transcript," 1989 interview, p. 5; David Duke, "Stop Immigration," NAAWP NEWS, no. 40, 1986, p.1.

⁴⁵. "Issues and Answers," NAAWP NEWS, no. 31, 1984.

⁴⁶. LCARN, "Interview Transcript," 1989 interview, p.4.

⁴⁷. LCARN, "Interview Transcript," 1989 interview, p. 4.

⁴⁸. Hitler, p. 403-404.

10% college graduates to encourage them to produce elite children.⁴⁹ The program -- a modernized version of Lanz's brood-convents -- is identical in philosophy and objectives to the Nazi Lebensborn program. Its explicit assumption is that intellectual achievement in life is genetically determined and that the state must influence procreation.

Of course, Nazi ideologues were not satisfied with simply propagating the superior elements in society. They actively sought to eliminate through dysgenics those sectors of society which allegedly impeded the Aryan development. As early as 1924 Hitler advocated sterilizing the "incurably ill" and "defective people."⁵⁰ Duke has also advanced similar voluntary sterilization programs for welfare recipients, criminals, and "mentally defectives."⁵¹ Duke's attacks on the welfare system are not motivated by a desire to reduce the number of welfare recipients, but rather a desire to reduce the number of Black people. Similar to Hitler, Duke frankly argues that the government has both the right and obligation to control who shall reproduce:

The choice is clear. You and your actions over the next few decades will decide who will propagate and who will not, who will control and who will be controlled.⁵²

Duke adamantly denies that he is a Nazi because, as he points out, he is not a totalitarian, nor does he advocate government force in his racial programs. Duke's premise is that totalitarianism and coercion are essential features of National Socialism. This is true of Nazism once it seized state power in 1933, but it is not an accurate description of Nazi political theory in its formative period (1924-1932). National Socialists seldom advocated dictatorial policies during their ascent to power. After the abortive Beer-hall Putsch, Nazis represented themselves as advocates of "German democracy," as opposed to "democratic parliamentarianism." "German democracy" denoted a form of government in which a leader would be elected democratically, but then left to rule without the interference of a contentious parliament.⁵³ In fact, in the first edition of Mein Kampf Hitler called for a central parliament as the highest body of the Nazi state, though he eliminated the demand in subsequent editions. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the parliamentary demand reflects the willingness of the Nazis to maintain a democratic pretense.⁵⁴

⁴⁹. LCARN, "Interview," p. 4.

⁵⁰. Hitler, p. 255.

⁵¹. David Duke, "Letter of the Month," NAAWP NEWS, no. 39, 1986, p.1.

⁵². David Duke, "Black Population Bomb Ticks," NAAWP NEWS no. 48, 1987, p. 1.

⁵³. Hitler, pp. 87-91.

⁵⁴. Hitler, p. xviii.

Duke's new-found democratic and egalitarian rhetoric is entirely consistent with early Nazi practice. It would be difficult for any authoritarian and racist movement to win support in the United States if it openly embraced racist and elitist values. Indeed, authoritarian movements seldom portray themselves as such in their early stages. Yet the logic of Duke's racial doctrine inevitably leads to an authoritarian conclusion. Massive relocation and eugenic plans, even if legislated by the majority, would meet wide-spread resistance by minorities. The effect would be mob-rule through the ballot box. It would be impossible to implement these draconian policies without resorting to authoritarian coercion.

But there is a deeper authoritarian strain to Duke's thinking. Duke projects a vision of the world in which "white civilization" is under assault by genetically defective people, incapable of self-government. In Duke's world-view, the only solution to crime and poverty is biological: reduce the number of people of color. It is doubtful that minorities will submit willingly to such a policy. Their only defense is political equality. Yet political equality contradicts Duke's "natural" principle of biological inequality. For Duke, to share political power with people of color is to commit racial suicide for the "white race." The contradiction between political equality and Nazi freedom is reflected in epigram which appeared on the masthead of one of Duke's favorite publications in the 1970's: "Free men are not equal, and equal men are not free." The concept is at the heart of Duke's Nazism: that political equality prevents the true racial elite from realizing their potential.

Throughout the 1980's David Duke continued to embrace the Nazi tenets of biological determinism, white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and government-sponsored relocation and eugenic programs. Duke's racism is Nazism, rather than an eclectic mixture of indigenous American racism. David Duke is not merely a bigot, he's a Nazi. He began his career as a self-proclaimed Nazi intellectual and continues to espouse Nazi race doctrine, albeit through a new language.

It was not until late in life that Duke grasped the key to Nazism's success: that it adapted to the specific prejudices, fears, aspirations, and political traditions of the nation. National Socialism represented itself as the embodiment of German political tradition. It did not clothe itself in the garb of foreign ideology. For American fascism to succeed, it must pretend to be squarely within the mainstream of American political life. It must abandon the foreign garb of Nazism. Ironically, the less Duke appears to be a Nazi, the more he fits the historical uniform.

Bibliographical Note

1. The most significant recorded interviews with Duke include those cited above: November, 1990 interview by Abby Kaplan (cited in LCARN Media Resource Packet) copy of tape and transcribed excerpts available at Amistad Research Center, New

Orleans; 1985 interview by Evelyn Rich (not cited), Political Ephemera Collection, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University; 1984 video interview by Burl Ware, Xavier University Archives, Xavier University, New Orleans. The Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism has donated to the Amistad Research Center its collection of Duke radio and television interviews and commercials, taped speeches, and miscellaneous articles. The Coalition also has its own collection, including: a extensive set of newspaper clippings from all state and major national publications (1988 -); campaign promotional materials, anti-Duke organizational materials, and extensive background documents. The Howard-Tilton Library has a collection of Duke materials from the 1970s. Amistad Research Center and the Louisiana Collection of the University of New Orleans both have nearly complete runs of the NAAWP News.

FALSE PROPHET: DAVID DUKE AND RELIGIOUS MANIPULATION IN THE LOUISIANA GOVERNOR'S RACE

**A Report by the Louisiana Coalition Against
Racism and Nazism
Prepared by Tim Wise**

SUMMARY

In the Fall of 1990, as David Duke challenged J. Bennett Johnston for a seat in the United States Senate, the former Klansman and neo-Nazi sympathizer unveiled a new political strategy, designed to convince voters that he was indeed a changed man. The weapon of choice for Duke was Christianity, and his professed faith in Jesus Christ. In conjunction with his three-year attempt to moderate his image from white supremacist to mainstream conservative, Duke began to extol the virtues of fundamentalist religion. Not only was he no longer a racist or an anti-Semite; now the voters of Louisiana were to believe that he was "born-again," thereby absolving himself of any responsibility for two decades of hateful, bigoted activities.

Duke's claims of religious piety became a central controversy during the Gubernatorial election, when his statewide campaign coordinator Bob Hawks defected in the last week of the campaign, claiming that Duke's "Christian conversion" was fraudulent. Contrary to Duke's claims that he "gains his strength from Jesus," Hawks notes that, "Jesus Christ is not the least bit part of his life."¹ Throughout the campaign, Duke repeatedly changed his story regarding the nature of his religious practices. In August, 1991, Duke told a radio station in Monroe, Louisiana that he attended the Carrollton Avenue Church of Christ in New Orleans. In reality, Duke had not belonged to that church in over twenty years.² Three months later, Duke claimed that he belonged to the "Evangelical Bible Church." After investigation revealed that there was no such Church, Duke altered his story, claiming that the Church was, in fact, a "Bible study group," which met in people's private homes.³ When asked to provide the names of persons in the Bible study group, Duke refused, leading many Christians to doubt his professed conversion.⁴

The sincerity of Duke's claims were called further into question when he told a group of Evangelicals that he had been born-again since age 13 -- implying that his Nazi and Klan activities, as well as his white-supremacist ideology co-existed with a belief in the teachings of Jesus.⁵

Undaunted by his stunning defeat to Edwin Edwards, Duke announced that he would run for President in 1992. Emboldened by the knowledge that he received over 60% of the fundamentalist vote, even with the many inconsistencies regarding his religious beliefs, Duke is once again using his professed Christianity to attract votes in his national campaign. In his speech announcing his Presidential aspirations, Duke referred to America on numerous occasions as a "Christian nation," and "Christian society," essentially denying the contributions of persons belonging to other religious faiths and backgrounds.⁶

No one can discern another's true beliefs; these are matters of the heart and conscience. But we can arrive at some judgement based on examining a person's actions and statements. With respect to Duke's actions, little need be said. His life's work has been the antithesis of the teachings of Christ. And in his public statements there is ample evidence that Duke is not a Christian in the conventional sense. His only "Christian" associates over the past few years have been adherents to a neo-Nazi religious sect known as Identity Christianity which interprets the Bible as justification for their white supremacist ideas. Duke himself has praised the Identity movement and participated in an Identity convention in 1987. Duke also sold neo-Nazi hate literature until the middle of 1989 from his legislative office, including The Holy Book of Adolph Hitler, described by Duke as a guide for Nazism as a new religion.⁷

Until recently Duke has seldom referred to Christianity. Even when he led the Klan, (an organization which proclaims itself to be devoutly Christian), he never spoke of Christ in his speeches. When he was asked by a would-be supporter in 1988 whether or not he was a Christian, he responded: "I am white."⁸ In various interviews he has noted that religion is of little or no importance to him or his message.⁹ Only as he attempts to find support in the American political mainstream, does he unveil his new-found faith in Jesus Christ. Yet, his spoken statements that Jews should "go in to the ashbin of history,"¹⁰ are hardly reminiscent of the teachings of Jesus. As Evangelical Christian, and Republican Party activist Neil Curran has noted:

Men like David Duke have always misused the cross. He may burn the cross as a Klansman, and he may twist the cross as a Nazi, but he does not bow at the foot of the cross... He comes not in the spirit of Christ.¹¹

Curran continues:

I had a personal experience with a Jewish person who changed my life: Jesus Christ. Jews are God's chosen people. Party leadership needs to know Duke's real positions -- his anti-Semitism, his great love for Hitler and Nazi writings. I think it's impossible for someone who is truly an evangelical to support David Duke.¹²

It is crucial that Christians and all persons of conscience sift through the smokescreen of Duke's professed religious beliefs. This report will first examine the growing Identity Christianity movement -- a key component of the neo-Nazi right-wing's political ideology. It will be shown that many of Duke's closest friends and confidants over the past few years have been key players in the Identity movement. The teachings of Identity will be examined, and Duke's connections and admiration for this pseudo-theology explored. Duke's faith is a religion of hate, not love; a religion of division, not unity.

Identity's okay. I don't have any problem with Identity... and as long as it's racially conscious, then that's a positive step as far as I'm concerned... Fundamentally, you know, I would feel a brotherhood with them in terms of standing up and fighting for the white race.

-- David Duke, 1985¹³

WHAT IS IDENTITY CHRISTIANITY?

Identity Christianity can best be described as a neo-Nazi, white supremacist pseudo-religion, with approximately 20,000 followers in the United States. The movement began in the mid-1800's in Great Britain, and was transported to the United States in 1946 by two notorious racists: Wesley Swift and Bertram Comparet. According to Robert Miles, one of the most prominent figures in the neo-Nazi right wing today, Identity is a "racial theological mission" for white Christians who no longer feel comfortable "within the confines of the humanistic, judaicized," modern church.¹⁴

The principle tenets of Identity Christianity are based on racism and a virulent hatred of Jews. By twisting Biblical verses, Identity followers are able to justify the extermination of "inferior", and "sub-human" peoples: namely, racial and religious minorities. Many members of the Christian Identity movement proclaim Hitler as a patron saint of the Church, and contend that Mein Kampf should be added to the Bible.¹⁵ The following is a list of the principal beliefs of the "religion" known as Identity Christianity: a religion with which David Duke admits he "has no problem," and with which he "feels a brotherhood."

- *** Jews are the direct descendants of Satan. According to Identity doctrine, when Eve broke God's original commandment she was implanted with two seeds: one from Adam, which brought forth Abel (and thus, the white race); and another from the serpent Satan, which brought forth the lazy, and wicked Cain. Cain killed Abel, and then set out to kill all white Christians, and is the original ancestor of the modern Jews.¹⁶
- *** Blacks and other racial minorities were created before Adam, and are sub-human "mud people." According to Identity, God created all non-whites on the third day of the Creation, and essentially goofed, forgetting to give them souls. On the sixth day, God corrected his mistake and created Adam: thus the white race was born.¹⁷
- *** Jesus was an Aryan, not a Jew. In fact, according to Identity adherents, Jesus was among the first "white supremacists."¹⁸
- *** The lost tribes of Israel were composed of Anglo-Saxons who were the ancestors of America's founding fathers. The founding fathers formed the Constitution with divine guidance, except for the amendments which came

after the Bill of Rights. These amendments, including an end to slavery, and voting rights for all, are seen by Identity as Satan-inspired, Jewish additions to an otherwise Christian document.¹⁹ Because of the divine guidance supposedly given by God to these Anglo-Saxon Christians, Identity claims that Americans are the new "chosen people" of the Bible -- the true Jews of the blood line of Abraham.²⁰

- *** Women were put on the Earth solely to serve as planting ground for the Aryan male's holy "white seed."²¹
- *** Armageddon will be a glorious battle between Christians and the "anti-Christ" Jews, in which the Earth will be "cleansed" of all non-whites.²² The messianic impulse behind Identity was expressed in the 1987 book This Planet is all Ours, published by the Church of the Creator, an Identity Ministry:

We gird for total war against the Jews and the rest of the goddammed mud-races of the world... We regard it as a holy war to the finish -- a racial holy war... No longer can the mud races and the white race live on the same planet and survive... It is either them or us.

- *** Segregation is ordained by God's law, and racial equality is a perversion of Biblical teachings.²³
- *** The Federal Reserve is a Jewish money-lending conspiracy intended to monetarily enslave white Christians to Jewish financiers.²⁴
- *** Identity followers will rule the world alongside Jesus Christ after the second coming, serving as "watchmen" for the Lord's Kingdom. To bring about the second coming, they must struggle against the anti-Christ Jews in the political, economic and social arenas.²⁵

Identity Christianity justifies its hatred of Jews, and its exterminationist impulse by twisting and misusing Biblical verse. For example, Matthew 10:34, which reads "Think not that I come to send peace on Earth. I come not to send peace but a sword," is interpreted as justification for violence against non-whites. Luke 19:27 ("...these enemies of mine, who did not want me to reign over them, bring them here and slay them in my presence..."), is read to mean that Jews should be exterminated; and John 8:44 and 47, ("You are of your father, the devil, and you want to do the desires of your father ... you are not of God."), is interpreted as proof that Jews, whom Jesus was addressing in the verse, are Satanic. Needless to say, such warped interpretations of the Gospel bear no resemblance to mainstream Christianity.²⁶

HOW IS DUKE TIED TO IDENTITY?

In 1988, when David Duke was the Presidential nominee of the Populist Party, an amalgamation of neo-Nazis, skinheads, and ex-Klansmen, an angry detractor wrote to the

Party's newsletter complaining about their support for Duke. She noted that she had recently asked Duke about his religious faith, and that when asked if he were a Christian his only response was: "I am white."

Such an irreligious response would come as no surprise to those who have known David Duke throughout the years. Karl Hand, formerly a member of Duke's Klan, and a lifelong professed Nazi has written that Duke considers Christianity nothing more than a "Jewish cult." According to Hand, who knew Duke quite well in the 1970's and early 80's, David has oftentimes ridiculed religion as superstitious and "unscientific."²⁷ Other friends of Duke's have said that during the past fifteen years, Duke would tell them that he was actually an atheist, and that Christianity was created by Jews to control white people.²⁸

Nonetheless, Duke's seeming aloofness regarding religion should not be taken as evidence that he has no theological beliefs. Indeed, his writings and activities in recent years point towards significant Identity leanings on Duke's part.

In 1987, Duke wrote an article for his NAAWP News, entitled, "Love and Hate." Therein, Duke referred to Jews as "culture destroyers," who were "evil," and propagated "the works of the Devil."²⁹ In the same issue, Duke penned a letter in response to a criticism he had received from a devout Christian. The criticism had taken him to task for espousing philosophies of white supremacy. Duke blasted his detractor, claiming that segregation, and even slavery were ordained by the Bible; theories very much central to Identity faith.³⁰ He went so far as to say that the Bible itself was a "racist" document.³¹ Duke admitted in the letter that the NAAWP counted among its ranks "many Identity Christians," as well as members of other denominations, giving the impression that the presence of neo-Nazi theologians within his organization was of no concern to him. He then launched into a classic Identity-inspired tirade himself:

It is a shame that people like you, by way of media brainwashing, have become dedicated to the malevolent advancement of the anti-Christian Jews, the most racist people on Earth.³²

In a fund-raising letter, inserted in the same 1987 issue, Duke exclaimed : "It is painfully obvious to me that the major organized Christian churches have been converted into a deadly enemy against the white race."³³

Three years later, while a State Representative from District 81 in Metairie, Duke discussed Judaism with Beth Rickey of the Louisiana Republican Party. Rickey notes that Duke expounded upon his deeply-held belief that Jews were Satanic, and that Judaism encouraged fornication with small children.³⁴

It is significant that Duke spoke these words, and wrote his Identity-tinged diatribes seven and ten years after leaving the Klan, during a time when he now claims to have abandoned his racist past. He was in his late thirties at the time, hardly an "overzealous" youngster whose comments about the Satanic qualities of the Jewish people can be discounted as "youthful indiscretions."

FRIENDS IN LOW PLACES: DUKE'S IDENTITY BUDDIES

Duke's links to, and admiration for Identity, can also be found in the company he keeps. For years, many of Duke's closest colleagues have been key figures in the Identity movement. In 1987, Duke attended an Identity convention in Tampa, Florida where he was a featured speaker.³⁵ The conference was organized by Identity adherent, James K. Warner, a longtime friend of Duke's with three decades of Nazi activity under his belt.

James Warner and David Duke share an extensive, sordid history. The two worked together loosely in the National Socialist White People's Party during the early 1970's, before Warner joined up with Duke's Klan. Warner, a transplanted Californian based in Southern Louisiana is the head of the Christian Defense League of Baton Rouge and Arabi, and the Chalmette-based New Christian Crusade Church -- an Identity mail-order ministry. He sells much of the same literature which Duke sold until 1989, when his Nazi bookselling operation was exposed. Among Warner's titles are, The Hitler We Loved and Why, and The Six Million Reconsidered, which claims that the Holocaust never occurred.

Warner explains the mission of the Identity-influenced CDL as: "to organize the white Christian majority and to forge them into a force or movement that can sweep the anti-Christ Jew from our churches, and those that support the anti-Christ Jew from any political position they may hold."³⁶ A 1982 CDL Report stated Warner's views succinctly when it noted: "Let us pray for the day when the last Jew leaves our shores forever."

In 1976, Warner awarded Duke with an honorary doctorate from Los Angeles Christian University, an Identity church.³⁷ Warner later served as a hand-picked Duke delegate to the State Republican nominating convention in an attempt to procure for Duke the party's nomination for U.S. Senate.³⁸

At this year's July 4th "Duke Fest," in New Orleans, Identity followers handed out literature from the Christian Defense League, including "fact sheets" about the "Kosher Food Racket," and the "Holohoax" -- the term used by those who disbelieve the Holocaust to describe the near-Genocide of European Jewry under Hitler.³⁹

Identity is also the guiding ideological force behind Duke's 1988 Presidential campaign manager, Ralph Forbes. Forbes, whom Duke has described as a "good Christian minister,"⁴⁰ is the leader of the Sword of Christ Good News Ministries of London, Arkansas. This mail-order outfit is also a principal purveyor of anti-Semitic literature and tapes.

From the pulpit of his good Christian church, Forbes has expressed the belief that the American Nazi Party is "doing God's work," and that "the multi-headed Jew beast is even now setting the stage for the final bloody conflict of Armageddon."⁴¹ Forbes, who claims to be "Chaplain-at-large to God's White army,"⁴² received \$22,000 from Duke's campaign coffers in 1988.⁴³

There is apparently little question among the principal movers in the anti-Semitic religious movement that Duke is of like mind. For example, in April of this year, Robert Miles, a

neo-Nazi ideologue, and proponent of Christian "dualism," (an offshoot of Identity), encouraged his followers to "support David Duke for Governor in Louisiana," in the pages of his racist newsletter From the Mountain.⁴⁴

Duke's links to Identity extremism extend even to his immediate family. Don Black, a close friend and the step-father of Duke's two children, is a frequent participant in Identity events. Black was a former member of the neo-nazi National Youth Movement and Duke's Klan. In the past he has referred to himself as a "professional bigot."⁴⁵ Black has participated in various Identity-inspired gatherings, including a retreat at Bob Miles's Mountain Church of Jesus Christ in Choctaw, Michigan.⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

David Duke is perpetrating an enormous hoax, both political and religious. The record demonstrates that his religious conversion, like his facial surgery, was purely cosmetic. He claims to draw his strength from Jesus, yet he fails to comprehend even the most basic of Christ's messages: to love thy neighbor. He has referred to Hispanics as "scum and swill,"⁴⁷ lambasted Jews as the offspring of the Devil himself, and advocated apartheid in America.⁴⁸ He has referred to Jews as a "blight," and hinted that they got what they deserved in World War II.⁴⁹ He refers to the poor as "cancerous parasites" in his television and radio advertisements, forgetting that Jesus was a champion of the poor and downtrodden. He forgets, or perhaps doesn't believe that Jesus was a Jew, and he claims that only Christians are looked upon favorably by God, Jews having fallen out of favor with the Lord since the coming of Christ.⁵⁰

David Duke's version of Christianity is quite different it seems, from that practiced by contemporary Christians. His is a faith inspired by hatred, and the teachings of white supremacy. His gospel is Mein Kampf, and White Power, by the late American Nazi, George Lincoln Rockwell,⁵¹ not the words of Christ or his apostles, nor the Old Testament prophets. His adherence to Nazi ideology should be especially repugnant to Christians, considering that hundreds of thousands of Catholics and Protestants were put to death in Hitler's camps.

Christians across the country must know that David Duke does not speak for them. If anything, he is laughing at them -- taking their votes by claiming to be closer to Jesus than his political opponents. There are those who claim that Christians shouldn't judge others, and indeed, forgiveness is a central concept in Christian teaching. Nonetheless, judging others in the Biblical sense is not the issue here. Obviously, only God can judge a man's soul. But when it comes to an election for public office, the issue isn't whether to send David Duke's soul to heaven or to hell -- rather, it is to decide the fate of our nation.

Christianity teaches us to forgive, but not to forget. Claiming to be "born again," isn't going to be enough to get David Duke into heaven, and it certainly isn't enough to put him in the White House.

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2. Mark Schleifstein and Sheila Grissett, "Religious leaders doubt Duke's Christianity," New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 13, 1991.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Roberto Suro, "Duke recasts his religious claims," New York Times, November 11, 1991.
6. Transcript -- David Duke, announcement for the Presidency, Washington Press Club, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1991.
7. Bridges, Tyler. "Neo-Nazi books sold at Duke's office," New Orleans Times-Picayune, June 8, 1989.; Americana Books Order Form, NAAWP News, various dates 1981-1989.
8. Populist Observer, letter, November, 1988.
9. David Duke, interview with Evelyn Rich, March 18, 1985, Metairie, Louisiana.
10. David Duke, interview with Evelyn Rich, February, 1986, Culver City, California.
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14. Coates, James. Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right. Noonday Press, 1987.
15. Bennett, David H. The Party of Fear. UNC Press, 1988, p.350; Coates, cited above.
16. Coates, Armed and Dangerous; Anti-Defamation League, Extremism on the Right: A Handbook. 1988, p.21-24.; Ridgeway, Blood in the Face.

17. Coates, Armed and Dangerous. - - -
18. Arkansas Gazette, May 13, 1985, letter from Zora Patterson III, an Identity Christian from Arkansas.
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20. Zeskind, Lenny. The Christian Identity Movement. Kansas City: Center for Democratic Renewal, 1988, p.18-19.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Zeskind, cited above, p.29.
24. Zeskind, cited above, p. 40.
25. Zeskind, cited above, p. 24-25.
26. Ridgeway; Coates, cited above.
27. Hand, Karl. "Why not David Duke?" Open correspondence to fellow white supremacists, circa, 1986.
28. Mark Schleifstein and Tyler Bridges, "Duke's Christian fervor contrasts with past views," New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 1, 1991.
29. Duke, David. "Love and Hate," NAAWP News, Issue 41, 1987.
30. Duke, letter, NAAWP News, Issue 41, 1987, p.3.
31. Duke, letter, p. 3.
32. Duke, David, letter, NAAWP News, Issue 41, 1987, p.3.
33. Duke letter, insert, NAAWP News, Issue 41, 1987.
34. Hillyer, Quinn. "A Biology of Intelligence," Gambit, June 19, 1990.
35. ADL, Extremism on the Right, cited above.
36. ADL, cited above.
37. Schleifstein and Bridges, cited above.
38. New Orleans Times-Picayune, January 14, 1991.

39. Brian Palmer, "Food, Folks and Fear," Village Voice, July 23, 1991.

40. "Duke maintains extremist ties," New Orleans Times-Picayune, February 17, 1989.

41. ADL, cited above.

42. Forbes, Ralph. Straight Shootin', Sword of Christ Ministries, London, Arkansas, 1983.

43. New Orleans Times-Picayune, February 17, 1989.

44. From the Mountain, March/April, 1991. Choctaw/Byron, Michigan.

45. Don Black, interview with Evelyn Rich, 1985.

46. ADL, cited above.

47. NAAWP News, Issue 40, 1987.

48. David Duke, interview with Evelyn Rich, March, 1985.

49. Duke/Rich interview, 1986.

50. Duke letter, NAAWP News, 41, 1987, p.4.

51. Duke sold both of these works from his Americana Books mail-order bookstore. Duke's version of Mein Kampf, it should be noted, was not the version found in Waldenbooks -- a claim he has often made to defend the sale of Hitler's work. Instead, his was a version with a decidedly pro-Nazi introduction, praising Hitler as a great visionary. Rockwell's work is also of interest here. This month, Duke told a reporter from Vogue magazine, that he copied much of the style of Rockwell, whom he referred to as a "conservative." This exposes quite a bit about Duke's definition of "conservative." Rockwell spoke on dozens of college campuses before his assassination in 1967, carrying the message that 80% of all Jews would have to be exterminated because they were traitors to America, and that blacks should be sent back to Africa. He once noted that Jews should be "stuffed into gas chambers." And David Duke thinks those are the words of a good conservative?

DAVID DUKE ON THE ISSUES

Outline and Analysis

Prepared by Tim Wise

INTRODUCTION

Over the course of his three year stint in the Louisiana legislature, and throughout his four recent political campaigns, David Duke has accused his political opponents of being afraid to debate him on what he feels are the issues. While it is our belief that Duke's continued adherence to Nazi ideology is indeed one of "the issues," we feel it is also necessary to examine Duke's political platform and confront many of the myths concerning poor people and blacks which are central to that platform.

What follows, is an outline of David Duke's positions on "the issues." From welfare reform, to affirmative action; from crime to educational reform, Duke's platform is chronicled. In some instances, commentary has been added so as to refute the more misleading statements and positions taken by Duke. Any lack of commentary on a given issue is not meant to imply agreement with Duke on that issue, but rather the result of limited space. Furthermore, many of Duke's statements are so obviously ludicrous and racially motivated, that they require very little comment.

It is important to note that regardless of the issue, Duke consistently uses racially divisive imagery to describe virtually all social problems. Of the two dozen or so bills which Duke introduced in the House of Representatives, all but a handful have been aimed at poor blacks. Duke has never introduced legislation to bring jobs to Louisiana, nor has he introduced legislation which would have the effect of curing the massive state budget deficit. Instead, he has been almost entirely preoccupied with punishing the "underclass" for various transgressions, real or imagined, which Duke contends they have committed: be it drug-use or child-bearing.

In his 1990 Senate campaign, Duke repeatedly conjured up images of the "good old days," and appealed to his constituent's longing for a "simpler time." In his 30-minute television commercial, aired in July, 1990, Duke waxed eloquent about the good old days, when children could "play in the streets until bedtime," and their parents wouldn't worry; when "college girls could walk the streets at night" without fear of being harassed; "when the only dope was the dumb guy down the street" ("David Duke on the Real Issues," voice script for his 30-minute television commercial). The degree to which this imagery of Duke's is meant to divide the electorate racially is obvious. Certainly the "good old days" to which Duke refers, have very little appeal to Blacks. After all, those were the days of Jim Crow segregation, when Blacks were forced to the back of the bus, unable to vote or live where they chose. The "good old days" were never that good for non-Whites in this country. By conjuring up this racially divisive imagery, Duke plays upon the fears and prejudices of people, instead of trying to unify the citizenry under a common banner.

Elsewhere in this booklet, a comprehensive critique of Duke's proposal to temporarily sterilize welfare mothers with NORPLANT implants is provided. In it, Duke's claims about the "welfare underclass," and the "illegitimate welfare birthrate," are examined.

DAVID DUKE ON THE ISSUES

I. Duke's Imagery

A. Plays on the public desire for "less government"

Duke repeatedly calls for "less government," "reduced government intrusion into our lives," etc.. (Transcript, campaign speech, Baton Rouge, Feb. 20, 1990; TV commercial, July, 1990; Gambit, June 19, 1990)

NOTE: This appeal for less government is, of course, somewhat contradictory with Duke's agenda in the Louisiana House of Representatives. For example, Duke supported legislation to require all drivers license applicants to take a drug test (Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, May 22, 1990; Opelousas Daily World, April 1, 1990)

B. Paints a picture of "Christian values" under attack

"Every generation of Americans has passed on to the next, the values, principles, and traditions bequeathed us by the founding fathers... they're mostly of Christian and European origin... but now they're under assault... from inside and outside this nation." (TV commercial, July, 1990)

C. Claims support for "Equal Treatment under the law"

**Duke's motto has long been: "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none."

NOTE: The claims by Duke that he supports equal treatment under the law are belied to a great extent by other positions he has taken as a legislator. For example, Duke supported legislation during the 1990 legislative session which would reduce the fine for assault to \$25, so long as the assault in question was committed against a flag-burner (New Orleans Times-Picayune, May 29, 1990). He has repeatedly introduced legislation which would add one year to the jail sentence meted out to drug offenders if they lived in the housing projects, (St. Bernard Voice, June 29, 1990); and he has proposed legislation which would provide extra cash benefits (i.e. "privileges"), to those welfare mothers who agree to forego "excess" child-bearing (House bill 1584, introduced by David Duke, May, 1991).

II.

Duke on Welfare

A. Inflates AFDC figures

Duke claimed during the Senate race that Louisiana spent \$198 million on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), in 1989-1990 (Leesville Leader, July 27, 1990)

NOTE: In reality, about \$180 million dollars were spent on AFDC in Louisiana that year, but only \$59 million came from state funds (i.e. Louisiana taxpayers). The Federal government provided the remaining revenue, which currently provides a poor family with only 25% of the poverty line income.

B. Claims that the "welfare underclass" is the key to all our problems

1. "Welfare spending creates an underclass"

"The underclass... has been spawned and nurtured by decades of liberal social welfare programs. They have encouraged lethargy, rewarded illegitimacy, and not required recipients to exhibit even elementary responsibility" (TV commercial, July 1990)

2. "Underclass are bad people"

"There is a wholesale refusal among the underclass to accept even the minimal obligations of citizenship: to go to school, keep a job, obey the law, and not conceive children they cannot afford" (TV commercial, July, 1990)

Duke's TV commercial also referred to the underclass as "cancerous"

3. "Underclass = key to problems"

"The rising welfare underclass is the main source of our economic and social woes" (TV commercial, July, 1990)

"The greatest threat to America today... is the emergence of a large, growing, parasitic and intractable welfare underclass" (TV commercial, July, 1990)

Duke has claimed that the underclass is the source of America's tax woes, financial woes, crime problems, education problems, and increasing insurance rates (David Duke campaign speech, Baton Rouge, Feb. 20, 1990)

C. Duke on welfare and drugs

1. "Welfare subsidizes drug use"

"It is indefensible that our taxes should be used to subsidize drug habits, but that's exactly what our welfare system does" (TV commercial, July, 1990)

NOTE: Lots of people receive income which is funded by the taxpayers: teachers, retirees, subsidized farmers, wealthy persons who receive tax breaks and rebates, and the disabled just to name a few. Yet Duke only seems to get upset at the thought of poor, black welfare recipients using their subsidies to buy drugs, even though these other recipients of government largesse often have substance abuse habits as well.

2. Duke supports stripping welfare from families with a convicted drug user/seller (Alexandria Daily Town Talk, August 12, 1990)

"This kind of a bill helps cleanse the welfare system" (Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, June 18, 1990)

3. Supports the death-penalty for drug dealers (Minden Press Herald, April 10, 1990)

D. Duke on the "long-term costs" of welfare

Duke claims that a welfare family of eight will cost the taxpayers \$750,000 over a 15-year period.

To arrive at this figure he claims birth costs of \$50,000; education costs at \$320,000 (\$4,000 per child X eight kids X ten years); and then claims that food stamp costs, AFDC costs, police and fire protection, crime, court, and corrections costs, plus increased insurance rates bring the total to around three-quarters of a million dollars (Baton Rouge speech, Feb. 20, 1990)

NOTE: In reality, Duke's figures are a perverse exxageration. To begin with, less than 5% of the welfare families in Louisiana have over six children (Office of Eligibility Determination, 1991); and the average welfare family has only a mother and two kids (see NORPLANT report). His estimates for birth costs are therefore off by a factor of four to begin with -- not to mention that birthing costs in public hospitals are ususally about half of Duke's estimate. Duke completely misrepresents education costs. Louisiana schools spend an average of \$600 per student per year, not \$4,000 as Duke claims (Devine, Joel and Jim Wright, Dept. of Sociology, Tulane, unpublished article, May, 1991). Duke's claims concerning crime, corrections and police protection costs for welfare recipients presuppose that every new

welfare recipient is a criminal or an arsonist. Clearly this belief is not borne out by statistical evidence.

E. Welfare and illegitimate children

1. "Welfare is an incentive to have illegitimate kids"

"Right now the incentive is that if you have more children, you get bigger housing allocations, you get more food stamps, you get more payments, and it just goes on and on" (Monroe News-Star, March 25, 1990)

2. "Underclass kids are usually illegitimate"

"The vast majority of underclass children are illegitimate, and their rising numbers are ominous" (TV commercial, July, 1990)

3. Duke doesn't mind illegitimate kids, he just doesn't want to pay for them

"I don't mind them having illegitimate babies ladies and gentlemen... I just don't think we should have to pay for them" (Grand Isle Independent, Aug. 29, 1990)

4. "Slowing the welfare birthrate is the key to solving poverty"

"The cycle of poverty can only be broken by slowing the welfare birthrate" (David Duke on the Issues, campaign flyer, 1990)

5. Duke wants to give preferential treatment to welfare recipients who don't have kids

"It is time to give welfare recipients who show responsibility (by not having excess children), first choice in the programs for the poor" (campaign flyer, 1990)

F. Welfare is causing the "Third-world-ization of America"

"... liberal social welfare programs have already produced places in America that resemble third world nations" (TV commercial, July, 1990)

G. "Workfare -- Not Welfare!"

"All able-bodied welfare recipients should be required to do some kind of work to get benefits. Such a policy would get the lazy off the rolls and at the same time restore dignity to those who want to contribute to society rather than drain it." (campaign flyer, 1990)

1. "Workfare reduces the welfare rolls"

"Statistics have shown that, in states requiring recipients to work, the welfare rolls have dropped dramatically" (Crowley Post-Signal, Sep. 2, 1990).

2. Claims that his proposal would help alleviate minority poverty

"My reforms would help break the cycles of poverty and dependence that keep large segments of minority groups from participating fully in the American dream" (TV commercial, July, 1990).

3. Voted against making the pursuit of an education by the poor a valid exception to the Louisiana workfare law (Baton Rouge State-Times, June 29, 1990). In other words, Duke believes that a poor welfare mother who is attempting to better herself by attending school should be unable to use her pursuit of an education as an alternative to working for her welfare benefits: presumably she should just quit school and go to work for her sub-poverty welfare wage.

H. Other Duke "solutions" to the welfare problem

1. Supports forcing welfare recipients to carry "magnetic cards"

"I think you need some sort of magnetic card for welfare in this country... I think you need to consolidate the welfare programs, and that kind of system could do that. And it would help the government keep track of that welfare recipient" (Alexandria Daily Town Talk, Aug. 12, 1990).

2. Duke voted to strip welfare from families whose kids skip school too often (Jennings Daily News, April 3, 1990).

IV. Duke on Taxes

A. "No new Taxes!"

"Hard-working, middle-class Americans are already taxed too much. In a sea of exorbitant taxes... the time has come to control and limit spending" (campaign flyer, 1990).

NOTE: Duke's concern over taxes and excess spending apparently doesn't affect his legislative agenda. Duke's bill to require drug testing for all public housing residents and welfare recipients would have cost the state approximately \$60 million, and his anti-affirmative action legislation would have cost the state of Louisiana \$1.5 billion in foregone federal revenue (Louisiana Weekly, June 22, 1989).

B. Supports a "flat tax" on income

Duke claims that an 8-10% flat tax would "generate as much revenue as the current system" (Alexandria Daily Town Talk, Aug. 12, 1990; New Orleans Times-Picayune, Aug. 14, 1990; campaign flyer, 1990).

NOTE: According to national tax experts, such a tax scheme would increase the federal deficit by \$200 billion per year and would succeed in reducing taxes only for the very wealthy (New Orleans Times-Picayune, Aug. 14, 1990).

C. Opposes any reduction in the Homestead Exemption, even to fund education (Baton Rouge State-Times, June 20, 1990).

D. Supports a National Sales Tax

"A national sales tax could replace income tax and eliminate the IRS, saving billions of wasted dollars and man-hours" (Bastrop Daily Enterprise, March 26, 1990).

V. Affirmative Action/"Reverse Discrimination"

A. "Reverse Discrimination Rampant"

"Reverse discrimination now rules the day in America" (TV commercial, July, 1990).

NOTE: Even with all this "reverse discrimination," whites control 99.7% of the GNP, (Emerge, Summer, 1990), and blacks are twice as likely to be unemployed or in poverty as their white counterparts regardless of qualifications or educational attainment (Pohlman, Marcus. Black Politics in Conservative America. 1990)

B. Affirmative Action is "discrimination against better qualified whites"

"America right now has a massive program of racial discrimination against better qualified individuals called affirmative action" (Baton Rouge speech, Feb. 20, 1990).

"... better qualified people face racial discrimination in hiring, promotions, scholarships, college admissions, union admittance, and in the awarding of contracts" (campaign flyer, 1990).

C. Duke believes in a meritocracy

"I believe we must have a society based on merit" (Monroe News-Star, March 25, 1990).

D. Duke claims that quotas are the cause of our economic decline

Duke claims that the U.S. is falling behind other countries such as Japan, because we are too busy trying to secure racial quotas instead of concentrating on excellence (Kentwood News, July 26, 1990).

E. Duke voted against a House bill which would empower the Governor to simply investigate claims of continued discrimination against blacks in the awarding of state construction contracts (UPI dispatch, Steve Watsky, March 2, 1989).

VI. Duke on Crime

Supports "Law and Order" approach

"We need real teeth in repeat offender laws, tougher penalties for drug pushers, more concern for the victim rather than the criminal, and ways to find more competent jurors. We need the death penalty for murderers, rapists, and drug pushers. Furthermore, we should work to make violent crime against the elderly and children carry more severe penalties" (campaign flyer, 1990).

NOTE: Every piece of anti-crime legislation introduced by Duke during his three years as a state legislator concerned welfare recipients, and specifically, poor blacks.

VII. Duke on Education

A. Blames integration and busing for the decline in American education

"Our educational system is no longer the best in the world. Forced busing and forced integration has brought about the decline. I'm for freedom of choice, freedom to choose which school your kids will attend" (Jackson Independent, June 7, 1990; Crowley Post-Signal, Sep. 2, 1990).

B. Supports tuition tax credits for parents who choose to send their kids to private or parochial schools (Opelousas Daily World, April 1, 1990; Baton Rouge speech, Feb. 20, 1990).

C. Supports "tracking" to separate schoolchildren based on "ability" (Crowley Post-Signal, Sep. 2, 1990; Baton Rouge speech, Feb. 2, 1990).

VIII. Duke on Housing

Supports repeal of the 1968 Fair Housing Act which prohibits a property

owner from discriminating against a prospective buyer because of the buyer's race or religious affiliation. Duke believes that a property owner should be able to sell to whomever he or she likes, even if that results in predominately white homeowners discriminating against black customers in the housing market (Duke press conference, Feb. 21, 1989, New Orleans; Abby Kaplan/LCARN interview with Duke, Nov. 29, 1989).

IX. Duke on the Environment

Duke said he would support a tax on hazardous waste production (Alexandria Daily Town Talk, Aug 12, 1990; Baton Rouge speech, Feb. 20, 1990). However he voted in favor of weakening a bill aimed at reducing hazardous waste production in Louisiana during the 1990 legislative session. The proposed bill would have increased the fees on waste generators, but an amendment, which Duke voted for, exempted Louisiana companies from the fee provision (Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, June 27, 1990).

Duke supports nuclear power

"I don't see a problem with nuclear power. I think that nuclear power can serve a role in this country" (Monroe News-Star, March 25, 1990).

X. Duke is opposed to the Martin Luther King Holiday and made this a major issue during the Senate campaign in various speeches (Jennings Daily News, June 7, 1990).

**REPORT ON LOUISIANA HOUSE BILL NO. 1584
THE DUKE STERILIZATION PLAN**

**A Report by the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism
Prepared By Lance Hill and Tim Wise
July, 1991**

Preface

In 1991 former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke introduced a bill in the Louisiana House of Representatives that would provide cash payments for welfare recipients who consented to long-term surgically implanted contraceptive (Norplant implants). Duke argued that the bill would reduce welfare costs and help break the cycle of poverty. This study traces the origins of the Duke proposal and argues that the bill was a thinly veiled sterilization plan designed to reduce the black population. Duke patterned his genetic engineering plan after Nazi-sponsored voluntary eugenic programs that eventually decimated millions. Additionally, Duke based his sterilization plan on a distorted notion of the causes of poverty. His arguments for the plan manipulated and exploited a series of myths about poverty and blacks. Though the bill was subsequently defeated, we believe this report remains important in that it explores the sophisticated means by which neo-nazi ideologues attempt to tailor their racial doctrines to appeal to modern sensibilities.

In April of 1991 State Representative David Duke introduced House Bill 1584 which would establish a government program to provide cash payments for welfare recipients who agree to be temporarily sterilized through Norplant implants or equivalent long-term contraceptives. Norplant, which the Food and Drug Administration approved last year, consists of hormone tubules that effectively sterilize the patient for five years or until surgically removed. Duke restricts the bill to Aid For Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients, 74% of whom are black, and offers a yearly cash grant incentive of \$100 for as long as the participant retains the implants.

Duke contends that his contraceptive program is intended to reduce welfare costs and lift welfare mothers from the cycle of poverty. Yet evidence indicates that Duke's sterilization plan is motivated by something other than benevolence and concern for the poor. Indeed, this is not the first time Duke has proposed government-subsidized sterilization programs. As early as 1983 Duke was touting the advantages of sterilizing poor blacks, and he continued to laud the concept throughout the 1980's. In his comments Duke revealed an entirely different and far more ominous set of reasons for his sterilization program. In truth, the Duke sterilization plan is not designed to eliminate poverty, but rather to eliminate black people.

THE GENESIS OF DUKE'S EUGENIC PROPOSAL

Over the past five years David Duke has repeatedly suggested that a voluntary sterilization plan would only be the beginning of a massive government-sponsored eugenics program (eugenics is a discredited pseudo-science that proposes to improve society through selective breeding). Though Duke has publicly repudiated many of his older white-supremacist and anti-Semitic ideas, he refuses to renounce his belief in eugenics -- what he euphemistically refers to as "racial science." Tulane Library's Special Collection department recently acquired a series of 1985 tape-recorded interviews in which the new "mature" Duke told a researcher of his dreams to reorganize the world through robotics and genetic engineering. Duke suggested that sterilizing welfare recipients would be a convenient way to "purify" America's racial stock:

Interviewer: You're talking about genetic engineering, are you?

Duke: Of Course...Well not only genetic engineering, but just promoting the best strains...In fact most of them [welfare recipients] are too stupid to do anything else but have kids. That's the only way in life they can really entertain themselves, is through sex. They can't entertain themselves very well through intellectual pursuits and so society already has a program, and I say simply reverse that. It's not very hard. All the government needs to do is simply give certain incentives... for those on welfare, for instance, not to have children. (1985)¹

Duke's recent comments illustrate his enduring belief that a nation's development is the product of its racial makeup, and that the government has a right and responsibility to reduce the population of people of color. Duke believes that Northern Europeans (Aryans) are a superior race endangered by the expanding number of people of color. For Duke, sterilization is simply a means of limiting the black birth rate which he believes degrades the racial stock of America.² In 1987 Duke warned the readers of the NAAWP News that, "You and your actions over the next few decades will decide who will propagate and who will not, who will control and who will be controlled."³ Two years before launching his campaign for the House of Representatives, Duke penned a letter to U.S. News and World Reports in which he praised sterilization as a means to reduce the number of criminals, mentally handicapped, and blacks:

"No one could ever deny that environment has a great impact. It does. Yet, its time to face up to the fact that heredity is at least equally important. Once that is admitted, it affords magnificent possibilities for mankind... There is no reason we shouldn't give incentives to welfare recipients, criminals, and mentally defective to go childless. On the other hand, there is no good reason why we shouldn't offer the gifted and successful incentives to have more children." (1986)⁴

That Duke believes it desirable to sterilize criminals and handicapped people makes clear the broad eugenic objectives of his program. Inroads against the rights of the poor can establish precedents for government sterilization programs for criminals, the handicapped, and other minorities. From Duke's "racial science" perspective, all crime and mental disease is hereditary (one might note that Duke is a twice-convicted criminal himself). If

the handicapped and criminals are adjudged hopelessly "genetically flawed," then the government has little incentive to attempt social or physical rehabilitation. Instead, it would increasingly rely on draconian population control policies. The idea that sterilization would racially purify society surfaces repeatedly in Duke's thinking throughout the last few years:

"There are plenty of ways to intelligently slow down the non-white birth rate (by stopping the welfare subsidization of it, for instance)...It is the idea that the racial makeup of America is vital to her well-being, that our genetic and cultural heritage must be preserved, and that the best elements in our people must be promoted and cultivated so our people can realize their promise in the stars." (1983)⁵

"Finally, there would be cash bonuses for sterilization -- money that could make their lives more comfortable...So our most productive people are being sterilized while the least productive, many of whom are feeble minded and practically in a state of mental retardation, have a multitude of children." (1986)⁶

"It's [welfare] a biological problem and we'll never solve it unless we tackle the biological end of it...Let sterilization be an option, not a forced thing. Say you have a congenital case of welfare, where the women in the family have been on welfare for generations. You offer the mother of the moment a cash bonus --hypothetically \$10,000 --excellent living quarters, and job training." (1986)⁷

These comments convey the simplistic biological worldview that underpins Duke's proposal. According to Duke, the white world is besieged by "feeble-minded" black welfare-recipients. The poor forfeit all rights, even the right to procreate. Social problems can be vanquished by vanquishing specific races. These are not new ideas; during World War II millions perished as a result of this race doctrine.

Duke's observations leave little doubt that his sterilization plan is motivated by something other than a desire to reduce welfare costs. In truth, many of Duke's proposals would dramatically increase taxes to subsidize his racial purification project. Following his election to the Louisiana House of Representatives, Duke continued to propose that taxpayers subsidize special loan programs to encourage select "superior" white specimens to have more offspring.⁸ In the interview above Duke abandons fiscal conservatism and advocates that the government offer \$10,000 cash payments to induce welfare recipients to sterilize themselves. A program of that magnitude would cost Louisiana nearly one billion dollars. Rather than reducing costs, Duke is willing to drastically inflate taxes to reduce the black population.

Duke defends his plan by arguing that it is voluntary and applies indiscriminately to both black and white women. The voluntary nature of the plan is merely ornamentation added to give the semblance of fairness. Contraceptives and family planning are already available for free to AFDC recipients through the Medicaid program. The Duke plan goes a step further and dangles cash bonuses in front of destitute women, thus using poverty to coerce

behavior. Studies indicate that teens often choose to have children because their future appears hopeless. Sterilization adds little hope to obtaining education or employment.

The Duke plan singles out blacks for sterilization by targeting AFDC recipients, 74% of whom are black. This is reminiscent of a previous bill Duke introduced that assessed an additional two years sentence on drug crimes committed in public housing projects. Since public housing is nearly all black, the legislation was tantamount to an additional sentence based on race. If Duke intended to reduce government expenditures in social service programs that affect unemployed people, then he could have included a wide range of programs: aid to the physically and mentally handicapped; pension and social services for the elderly; unemployment insurance recipients; workers compensation recipients. The government offers benefits from these programs to some individuals who have never worked, or worked only briefly. Why does Duke omit these programs from his sterilization plan? No doubt some of these beneficiaries of government largesse would benefit from reduced family size, and the savings would be passed on to the tax payer. The reason Duke excludes them is simple: these programs extensively serve whites as well as blacks. For example, 67% of the recipients of vocational rehabilitation services in Louisiana are white. Sterilizing this sector will not fulfill Duke's anti-black agenda.⁹

It is not difficult to understand why Duke now drapes the cloak of charity around his genetic engineering plan. Americans are justifiably suspicious of any proposal that gives the government authority over procreation. The idea of government sterilization evokes images of Nazi population control and human experimentation, and rightly so. Duke realizes how difficult it is to win support for a program that selectively breeds people like cattle. For this reason he packages his genetic engineering schemes in new form. Appeals for tax relief and welfare reform offer a respectable veneer for this insidious project.

THE DUKE STERILIZATION PLAN AND NAZI EUGENICS

The most convincing case against Duke's plan is history itself. Fifty years ago another country embarked on a similar plan to sterilize "non-productives," criminals, and the mentally handicapped. The country was Nazi Germany. In fact, every component of Duke's eugenic plan was initially proposed by Hitler in his race purification plans of 1933. Beginning in 1924 Hitler proposed a scheme to sterilize "mental incompetents" and "non-productives." Nazi race theorists characterized these segments of the population as lebensunwertes Leben ("life not worthy of living"). Identical to Duke's proposal, Hitler's initial sterilization plan was voluntary.

Once Hitler took power in 1933 the voluntary policy took a portentous turn. In January of 1934 new legislation authorized Nazi doctors to forcibly sterilize physically and mentally handicapped women. Over 15,300 German women fell victim to this new policy. The trajectory of the "final solution" was set once the Nazi state chose to solve social and political problems through population control. An inexorable logic took over. If the government had the authority to determine who was worthy of life in the future, then it is but a small step to claim authority over who should live in the present.¹⁰

Hitler's personal doctor, Karl Brandt helped develop a committee of fifty doctors and technicians that certified which patients would be physically exterminated. The "T-4 Action" program used carbon-monoxide gas to clinically murder 70,000 mentally and physically handicapped persons. Parents of handicapped children were horrified to find that the state had exterminated their children for the crime of "non-productivity."

The logic of eugenics did not abate. Hitler's sterilization schemes had accustomed Germans to accepting biological solutions to social problems. It was not long before the Nazis turned to population policies to solve the "Jewish Question." For several years the Nazis had considered relocating Jews outside of Germany. The acquisition of the eastern territories, however, added millions of Jews to the Nazi empire, making relocation difficult. Hitler scuttled the relocation plan and opted for the "final solution": the complete extermination of the Jews. In October of 1941 the Nazi government transferred T-4 personnel to Chelmno to begin gassing the Jews. Hitler had travelled from voluntary sterilization to the holocaust in seven short years. ¹¹

The holocaust discredited theories of racial superiority and eugenics. The world saw the consequence of government intervention in procreation. Unfortunately, the old racial doctrine is resurfacing. Duke's fantasy of a genetically engineered society draws on the same racial beliefs and assumptions that fueled the holocaust. He assumes that poverty and crime are produced by genetically flawed individuals (hence his proposal to sterilize criminals too). He is convinced that biology causes poverty and biology solves poverty. In Duke's world there is no future for poor blacks. They are genetically incapable of achieving at the same level as whites. For Duke the solution requires the government to actively intervene to encourage select whites to reproduce while discouraging blacks.

In some respects Duke's legislation is intended to psychologically prepare Americans for more drastic policy. His constant comparison of welfare recipients to cancer creates the illusion that poverty is insurmountable and that blacks are an alien and debilitating culture. Duke defines the problem in a way that encourages whites to view poverty and crime as population problems that can be solved on the operating table.

The assumptions about race and social problems that underlie Duke's proposals deeply contradict the very principles and traditions that contributed to America's strengths: a sense of fairness, optimism, belief in the regenerating power of economic opportunity, faith in the essential goodness of humans, optimism toward social progress, and a respect for personal liberty. Unlike the Old World, the New World ultimately provides opportunity for all races and nationalities. It assumed that human nature is flexible and limitless. Poverty and crime have always existed, but no one race was beyond redemption. The Irish, Italians, and Eastern Europeans have all occupied the "underclass" at different points in history. There has always been a segment of the older population quick to claim that some permanent, inherent national character flaw accounted for the poverty of newly arrived immigrant groups. But poverty has historically been a temporary condition in life caused by a combination of economic inequality and cultural dislocation. Economic opportunity, decent jobs, and educational training offer meaningful and effective solutions to the welfare dilemma. Sterilization will not solve poverty. Furthermore, it introduces a dangerous precedent that undermines our cherished principles of liberty and equality. The purpose of

government is to protect life, not extinguish it.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF HB 1584

Two basic assumptions underpin Duke's sterilization proposal; both of which are illusions based on myths about poverty, welfare, and race. Duke manipulates and exploits these myths in his campaigns, leading his followers to conclude that blacks are responsible for the nation's woes and, accordingly, that the solutions must target specific ethnic groups. The first assumption is that welfare is an incentive for rampant childbirth by the poor. This piece of bar-room folklore suggests that most blacks prefer welfare to work. It also implies that the welfare system generously rewards women who have additional children. The second assumption is that the poor suffer from poverty because they are incapable of behaving responsibly -- the "underclass social pathology" argument. It presupposes that poverty is not produced by unemployment and economic dislocation, but rather by internal character flaws: laziness, sexual impulsiveness, and infantile behavior. Both of these assumptions are myths that have no basis in fact. Duke's sterilization plan will fail to break the cycle of poverty because it rests on these misleading myths; moreover, it perpetuates and popularizes these myths.

MYTH #1: WELFARE ENCOURAGES ILLEGITIMATE CHILDBIRTH

Woven throughout Duke's defense of his welfare reform policies is the unchallenged notion that the average welfare family is too large: reduce family size and welfare costs will plummet. The evidence indicates that this is a gross exaggeration:

**** The majority of welfare recipients already voluntarily limit family size. The average AFDC family in Louisiana consists of only two children. The problem of poverty is not family size, but that even small families find it nearly impossible to survive on minimum wage service sector work in urban areas. Sterilization would have a negligible affect on current family size.¹²**

If welfare payments (AFDC) actually induced the poor to have more children, then one would expect that benefit levels would rise significantly with each welfare birth. It could also be assumed that states offering high AFDC benefits would be plagued with high welfare birth rates, while states with lower AFDC benefits would have lower birth rates. In both cases, the reality is quite different from the rhetoric:

**** In the state of Louisiana, a welfare mother receives only \$13 per week in additional AFDC benefits when she has an extra child over and above the first. For each additional child she bears, she receives a mere \$11 extra. In addition, for each "excess" child she bears, she receives only \$18 extra in food stamps per week.¹³ A mere \$31 per week offers little incentive to women to bear more children.¹⁴**

** Reduced welfare payments do not discourage illegitimate birth rates. Recent studies by Irwin Garfinkel and Sara McLanahan indicate that for the past 15 years, illegitimacy has risen, while AFDC payments have fallen in real, inflation-adjusted terms. Furthermore, they conclude that AFDC benefits are responsible for no more than 10% of the increase in illegitimacy.¹⁵

** Extensive analysis has shown that states with the highest AFDC benefits tend to have the lowest rates of illegitimacy, while states such as Louisiana with low benefit levels tend to have the highest rates of illegitimacy.¹⁶

** Family size of poor black women is actually decreasing compared to whites. The fertility rate among single black women, (those whom Duke's legislation targets), has decreased substantially over the past decade, while the fertility rate for white females has risen. The evidence indicates that welfare payments do not encourage poor women to have more offspring.¹⁷

** Contrary to popular mythology, welfare mothers bear fewer children than women in rest of the population. Women receiving AFDC have one-fourth the number of babies as do those who do not receive AFDC.¹⁸

** If any incentive to have babies exists in the current system, it is not found in the AFDC program, but rather in the income tax code which offers standard deductions for dependent children. Duke does not object to these incentives because he favors "quality" white couples having more children.¹⁹

MYTH #2: POVERTY IS THE RESULT OF IRRESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR

The second assumption underlying HB 1584 is that "irresponsible behavior," best symbolized by illegitimate childbearing, primarily explains the economic plight of the black underclass. In this myth poor people cause their own poverty, rather than factors such as unemployment, low wages, or ineffective job skills. For Duke's sterilization plan to win credibility as a solution to underclass privation, it is crucial that he make a convincing argument that black culture and behavior produces poverty. If this imagery is accepted, then it becomes easier to believe that legislation that attempts to "reward responsible behavior," may cure the problem. It is with this in mind that Duke claims that slowing the welfare birth rate -- essentially a biological solution to a social problem -- is the only way "to break the cycle of poverty."²⁰

However, poverty will never decline unless the root-causes are addressed: chronic urban unemployment, low service wages, a poorly trained workforce, and lack of day-care and other support services for single mothers. The rise of the "underclass" has corresponded with diminishing economic opportunity in the inner-city, not increased birth rates. As mentioned before, illegitimate births to black women have actually decreased in recent years. However:

** For the first time in recent history, the median family income for young blacks has dropped below the amount necessary to keep a four-person family out of poverty. The average young black man heading a family earns 33.3% less than he did in 1973.²¹

** According to sociologists, William Julius Wilson and Loic J.D. Wacquant, of the University of Chicago, the key to the entrenchment of unemployment and poverty in the inner-city has been the mass exodus of manufacturing jobs over the past twenty-five years from large, urban areas where many poor blacks live.²²

It is not "irresponsible" child-bearing that has caused the decline in black income and standard-of-living. According to experts at a conference on poverty held at Northwestern University in 1989, even blacks who "play by the rules" are "losing the game." For example:

** Black women who engage in "responsible behavior," (i.e. avoiding out-of-wedlock pregnancies), suffered a 32% drop in real family income between 1972-1985, compared with only a 7% drop for "responsible" white women. Only 25% of black women avoiding out-of-wedlock pregnancies were able to end up in families with combined incomes of \$25,000 per year or more, compared with 60% of their white counterparts.²³ ("Blacks play by the rules and still lose, study says," Times-Picayune, 11/5/89, reprint from the Chicago Tribune).

Working hand-in-hand with declining economic opportunity in helping to entrench poverty is a state AFDC program that hasn't increased the benefit levels to a family of three for seven years.²⁴ A family of three on AFDC in Louisiana receives a paltry \$190.00 per month, the same as in 1983. It should be noted that this benefit level comes nowhere close to lifting a poor family out of poverty.

Americans are reluctant to accept that poverty may be built into our economic system. Economists urge the government to maintain at least 5% unemployment to ensure a "healthy" economy. Presidents employ tight money policies and recessions to reverse inflation. Given these policies that guarantee chronic unemployment, it would be reasonable to assume that there would be chronic poverty. Yet many Americans continue to look for alternative explanations for poverty (cultural defects, racial differences).

Duke has recently adopted the fashionable "culture of poverty" theory that argues that a "black underclass" causes recurrent poverty. The theory holds that a self-destructive culture hopelessly locks the underclass into a cycle of poverty. This concept discourages attempts to assist the poor since it attributes poverty to an internal defect in black culture.

But the theory misrepresents the average victim of poverty. No doubt that some welfare recipients have no interest in joining the ranks of the employed. But in reality, only 8-12% of the poverty population can be defined as "persistently poor" (i.e. the underclass). By targeting the behavior of the "underclass," Duke's program fails to address the conditions of 90% of the poor.²⁵ Additionally, the bulk of the persistently poor "underclass" does not

live in large urban ghettos, but rather in rural areas.²⁶ Duke's entire welfare reform plan is premised on the myth that welfare recipients refuse to avail themselves of ample economic opportunities, and that black welfare mothers produce more welfare mothers. Again, the myths do not stand up to facts:

**** Most adult children from welfare families do not end up on welfare, and most current welfare recipients were not from welfare families.²⁷**

**** Over one-half of those who do stay on welfare for a prolonged period of time are attempting to supplement low wages. In other words, they are willing to work but their abysmal wages cannot support a modest family.²⁸**

Two final points on the efficacy of Duke's sterilization plan. Studies indicate that welfare mothers tend to have most of their children before they go on AFDC or after they leave the program. Thus Duke's plan affects welfare mothers when they are least likely to have additional children. In addition, Duke's plan will perpetuate dependency and offer an incentive for welfare mothers to remain on AFDC. House Bill 1584 pays a yearly cash bonus only to women who remain on AFDC. If a woman gets off AFDC in two years for example (as most recipients do), she would lose the bonuses and the state-subsidized medical assistance with her Norplant. The plan, then, actually provides an incentive for poor mothers to stay on welfare.

MYTH #3: POOR BLACKS ARE UNPRODUCTIVE

The ultimate myth that undergirds HB 1584 and other Duke proposals is that welfare recipients are a permanent class of non-productives that live at the expense of a "productive white majority." This myth divides society into two spheres and implies that non-productive classes deserve no rights or privileges. There are both ethical and factual arguments against this line of thought. It is ethically bankrupt to suggest that if one loses their productivity they should forego their rights as humans. It was this thinking that allowed the Nazis to murder the handicapped. It should be noted that welfare recipients are not the only group that doesn't work for their income. Sixty percent of families with incomes over \$100,000 inherited a substantial amount of their estates. One can assume that Duke excludes this sector from his sterilization scheme also. But even the idea that welfare recipients are permanently non-productive cannot hold up in light of the evidence:

**** The average welfare mother in Louisiana stays on AFDC for less than 24 months. For most welfare recipients welfare is a temporary way-station between jobs.²⁹**

**** Fifty-five per cent of children on welfare have at least one working parent according to the National Center for Children in Poverty, at Columbia University.³⁰**

**** Government statistics indicate that 90% of adult AFDC recipients are**

either disabled, already working at sub-poverty wages, or single mothers with small children and no access to child care.³¹

** Among adults on welfare who are not disabled, retired, or taking care of small children, 70% of heads of poor households worked full or part-time in 1984 (the last year for which figures were available).³²

** Between 1979-1984, the number of Americans working at jobs paying sub-poverty wages quadrupled.³³

Rather than a permanent class of non-productives, the majority of welfare recipients remain productive most of their lives. They do this despite the fact that the job market in black urban areas offers few incentives to work. In fact, welfare is often a reluctant choice that economic inequality forces upon poor women. Currently, a woman with 2 children who works full time for minimum wage earns about \$536 per month. After taxes, transportation costs, child-care, and health insurance, she is left with only \$252 a month for food, clothing, utilities, and housing. Add in food stamps (\$211), and she nets \$436 -- only \$37 more than she could receive on welfare. Even with low welfare payments, the minimum wage job market makes welfare as profitable as work. The solution lies with increasing the benefits of work rather than sterilization or decreasing the already below-subsistence payments.

IS DUKE'S PROPOSAL CONSTITUTIONAL ?

It is quite possible that the federal courts would find HB 1584 to be unconstitutional if implemented. By virtue of targeting only AFDC recipients with this program, as opposed to other public assistance recipients, HB 1584 is possibly a violation of equal protection under the 14th Amendment. Since AFDC is the one and only "welfare" program used overwhelmingly by blacks, the courts could easily view the NORPLANT proposal as aimed at blacks specifically, violating equal protection by setting up an "invidious distinction" which is essentially race-based between those who "behave responsibly," and those who "behave irresponsibly."

SUMMARY

The Duke sterilization plan is an old idea repackaged for modern sensibilities. It is based on a faulty analysis of the roots of poverty, and thus fails to offer an effective remedy. The plan ignores the structural roots of urban privation: lack of economic opportunity and occupational training. The sterilization plan is simply the latest attempt by Duke to use "publicity stunt" legislation to advance worn-out racial myths --myths that can only antagonize race relations in Louisiana.

The problems of growing welfare costs, teen pregnancy, and crime are very real. Most observers agree that the welfare system has failed abysmally and that new alternatives must

be found. It perpetuates dependency and discourages normal family development. But it is critical that we resist demagogues like Duke who attempt to exploit the crisis to elevate themselves to power. We need to be vigilant to attempts by far-right extremists who manipulate old racist myths in an effort to obstruct any attempt to remedy poverty. There are solutions to poverty and crime, but they require an accurate assessment of the problems and possibilities. Ruth Sidel sums up the welfare/illegitimacy debate quite well when she notes:

"If we want our young people to postpone childbearing, we must offer them real alternatives, a life with other rewards, other ways of feeling good about themselves, other ways of finding meaning and hope. Until then, young women who perceive no other opportunities will at least have the role and status that comes with motherhood, along with the gratification of being loved and needed and of loving someone in return."³⁴ (Sidel, 194).

Possible solutions to the cycle of poverty are numerous. But the approach must be proactive rather than reactive. The process could begin with efforts to bring jobs back to black urban areas through entrepreneurial funding, tax incentives, and other government programs. Job training, education, supportive day care, and decent wages and employment benefits could all contribute to ending the cycle of poverty. At the heart of this effort must be a rejuvenation of an old American belief: that opportunity is the best cure for poverty.

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27. Ibid, p. 90.
28. Ibid.
29. Department of Health and Hospitals.
30. New Orleans Times-Picayune, April 15, 1990.
31. King interview.
32. Edelman, p. 74.
33. Ibid, p.75.
34. Sidel, p. 194.